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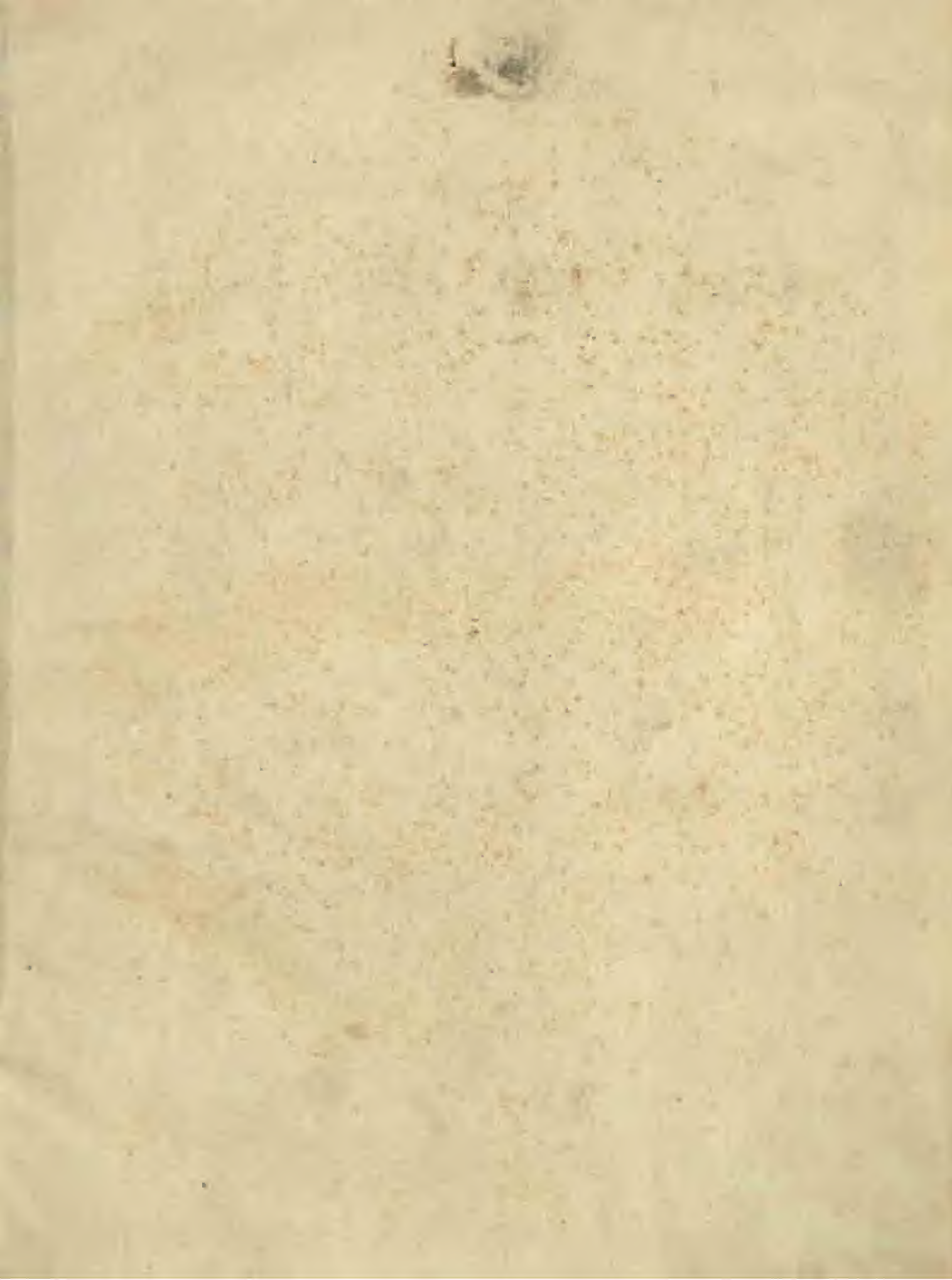
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EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

26511

VOLUME II

913.3205  
J. E. A.

PUBLISHED BY  
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND  
37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, W.C.

LONDON

1915

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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
CLEOPATRA VI ... ..	Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, D.D. ... 1
A NEW MONUMENT FROM COPTOS ... ..	F. Ll. Griffith, M.A., F.S.A. ... 5
A REMARKABLE BURIAL CUSTOM OF THE OLD KINGDOM ... ..	T. Eric Peet, B.A. ... .. 8
AN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN FUNERAL CEREMONY	Arthur E. P. B. Weigall [with a note by F. Ll. Griffith, M.A., F.S.A.] ... .. 10
AN INDIRECT REFERENCE TO SESOSTRIS III'S SYRIAN CAMPAIGN IN THE TOMB-CHAPEL OF <i>Dhuty-htp</i> AT EL-BERSHEH ... ..	A. M. Blackman, M.A. ... 13
THE PRONUNCIATION OF COPTIC IN THE CHURCH OF EGYPT .. ...	Dr G. P. G. Sobhy ... .. 15
EDWARD AYRTON ... ..	H. R. Hall, M.A., F.S.A. ... 20
ALEXANDER IN EGYPT AND SOME CONSEQUENCES	D. G. Hogarth, M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A. ... .. 53
THE NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING ...	Alan H. Gardiner, D.Litt. ... 61
LETTERS OF CHAMPOLLION LE JEUNE AND OF SKYFFARTH TO SIR WILLIAM GELL ...	H. R. Hall, M.A., F.S.A. ... 76
THE ART OF THE PRÆDYNASTIC PERIOD ...	T. Eric Peet, B.A. ... .. 88
LETTERS TO SIR WILLIAM GELL FROM HENRY SALT, [SIR] J. G. WILKINSON, AND BARON VON BUNSEN ... ..	H. R. Hall, M.A., F.S.A. ... 133
ROYAL TOMBS IN MESOPOTAMIA AND EGYPT: A COMPARISON SUGGESTED BY SOME RECENT DISCOVERIES ... ..	Professor L. W. King, Litt.D. 168

	PAGE
THE GREAT TOMB ROBBERIES OF THE RAMESSIDE AGE: PAPYRI MAYER A AND B ... ..	T. Eric Peet, B.A. ... 173
AN UNDESCRIBED TYPE OF BUILDING IN THE EASTERN PROVINCE OF THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN ... ..	Professor C. G. Seligman, M.D. 178
DID MENEPHTAH INVADE SYRIA? ... ..	Professor Ed. Naville, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A. 195
THE EXCAVATIONS AT BALABISH: PRELIMINARY NOTICE ... ..	G. A. Wainwright, B.Litt. ... 202
THE GREAT TOMB ROBBERIES OF THE RAMESSIDE AGE. PAPYRI MAYER A AND B. II. PAPYRUS MAYER B ... ..	T. Eric Peet, B.A. ... 204
THE NAME <i>OSIRIS</i> ... ..	Oric Bates ... 207
NOTES ON HEBREW PAPYRUS FRAGMENTS FROM OXYRHYNCHUS ... ..	A. E. Cowley, D.Litt. ... 209
NOTES ON SYRIAC PAPYRUS FRAGMENTS FROM OXYRHYNCHUS ... ..	Professor D. S. Margoliouth, D.Litt. ... 214
THE SCARAB COLLECTION OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD ... ..	Alice Grenfell ... 217
THE SOLDIERS OF ANCIENT EGYPT ... ..	H. M. Tirard ... 229
BIBLIOGRAPHY:	
Christian Egypt: 1913-14 ...	S. Gascolee, M.A. ... 24
Græco-Roman Egypt:	
A. Papyri, 1913-14 ...	H. Idris Bell, M.A. ... 95
B. Inscriptions, 1914 ...	Marcus N. Tod, M.A. ... 108
C. Miscellaneous, 1913-14 ...	F. Ll. Griffith, M.A., F.S.A. ... 113
Ancient Egypt: 1914-15 ...	F. Ll. Griffith, M.A., F.S.A. ... 234
NOTES AND NEWS ... ..	... 39, 115, 184, 253
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS ... ..	... 45, 120, 190, 255
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING ... ..	... 44

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## CLEOPATRA VI

BY THE REV. J. P. MAHAFFY, D.D.

MR WEIGALL'S recent monograph on this famous Queen was a careful *apologia*, which not only extenuated her crimes, but blackened the characters of the great Romans with whom she had to deal. Though my estimate of the Queen does not agree with his, but rather with the traditional one, coloured though this may be with Roman prejudices, yet I do not intend this paper as a criticism of his interesting book, but rather as the vehicle for some suggestions regarding her, which seem to have escaped his attention.

In the first place, her pedigree is most remarkable. Not only had she nothing but royal blood in her veins, if we start from her far off ancestor the self-made Ptolemy I (who was only a noble in Macedonia), but over and over again, in that royal pedigree, she was derived from full brother and sister marriages—a condition which modern engenists (if I may coin the word) would have thought certain to produce physical and mental decadence. Yet this woman, descended from a series of closely in-bred ancestors, is not only handsome, vigorous, intellectual, but also prolific. Apart from her moral standard, which in any case was far removed from ours, or even from that of the great Greeks and Romans, she was as perfect a specimen of the human race as could be found in any age or class of society. Nor does she seem to have been a *lusus naturæ* in this. All we know of her elder brother, who must have felt to his inmost core his sister's dreadful violation of all the traditions of the royal house, who stood up against the conqueror of the world in determined resistance, and lost his life in battle during a most courageous campaign—this boy of 15 was no unworthy scion of a line of kings.

The first lesson then which we learn from her history is that breeding in and in does not necessarily spoil or deprave the human race. Many years ago I saw a paper of Frank Darwin's in a magazine, in which he went into the alleged mischief done by the intermarriage of first cousins. The outcome of the essay, after the examination of a great number of cases, was this: that while these marriages naturally gave a double chance to physical or moral blemishes of damaging the next generation, yet, if there be no such stain in the family, the marriage of near relations had not been proved in itself mischievous<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I understand that the breeders of cattle in the Co. Meath have made the same discovery.

The case of Ptolemy Aulætes, father of Cleopatra, who was manœuvring and bribing all his life to have his right to the throne acknowledged by Rome, seeing that he was, as Cicero says, *non regi genere natus*, I have long since explained to mean that he was not the offspring of an actual king and queen, but of a crown prince, who was not entitled, by the rules of the dynasty, to count his children fully legitimate till he had begotten them as king. No one ever suggested that this Ptolemy was in any more serious sense illegitimate.

So then Cleopatra VI, inheriting no physical flaw, appears to us intellectually and morally a natural and worthy descendant of the tremendous ladies who had occupied her throne. The only important intrusion of foreign blood was the bringing in of Cleopatra I, the Syrian heiress who married Ptolemy V. The series opens with Arsinoë II, who had indeed no children, but adopted those of her discarded predecessor. The general likeness of this great lady's life with that of Cleopatra II, and III, of Arsinoë III (to take specimens) will be easily recognised by any student of Ptolemaic history.

But amid all the various ambitions and turbulences of their lives, their change of husbands, their raising of armies, their leading of revolutions, we never hear of any vulgar passions, such as those which tarnished the life of Catherine II of Russia, or of Mary Queen of Scots. We never hear of any one of them having an illegitimate child. Ptolemy Apion was the offspring of a Cyrenaean grandee whom the ninth Ptolemy had lived with there for political purposes during his exile. But even she could not make more than a morganatic marriage with a king of Egypt. The only legitimate spouse for a Ptolemy was a princess of the royal house, and generally a daughter not of a crown prince, but of a consecrated king. The evidence of this porphyrogenitism in the dynasty is quite clear, and has been expounded by me elsewhere. In the case of Cleopatra VI, it seems to me of peculiar importance. She had grown up at a very decayed court, the daughter of a very discredited king, Ptolemy the Piper, where many great adventurers, Roman and others, had disported themselves. The will of her father, of which we are told the substance, shows that even he had in him the old dignity of his house, and loyalty to the kingdom he had inherited, and the pathetic character of this document should not be so completely ignored as it is by the historians of the period. In any case, she had reached the age of 20, had quarrelled with her brother, had gone into exile, raised an army to assert her rights—all this she had done, yet we never hear even from her studious detractors of any "affair of the heart" in this very experienced and very unscrupulous young woman. This it is, which persuades Mr Weigall to regard her as an innocent virgin, urged by circumstances to adventure herself into the lair of an experienced lady-killer, and succumbing to his seduction. I read the affair quite differently. She was probably versed in all the wicked wiles of men, and knew perfectly how to take care of herself. Moreover as a Queen of Egypt, she felt herself as far above other people as a highly bred European girl feels herself above the attractions of lower races. But she now saw an opportunity of playing at great stakes for a huge prize, and she determined to make the attempt. In old Pharaonic days it had happened that a victorious adventurer had insisted on marrying the daughter of the reigning house, and so acquired for himself, and still more for his children, a title to legitimacy—for the Crown Princess or Queen in Egypt was in some very peculiar sense heiress of the throne. But such an alliance was a great public affair, celebrated with august religious ceremonies, the bridegroom being probably dressed up in the guise of the god Ra, with whom, in some mysterious way, he shared his functions. This was a very different matter from being carried into Caesar's quarters wrapped in a carpet, and producing a son without any delay or ceremony whatever.

It seems to me that historians have not thought out the unheard-of daring of such a step, which was in fact the cataclysm of the dynasty. Caesar was only still a

great adventurer, not of royal blood, not likely to become a king; he might have discarded her after a week, and incurred no risk or discredit in those days. It was therefore a desperate venture for the Queen, and though she won, and would have held a great position if Caesar had lived his natural life, her son Caesarion was distinctly and plainly a bastard, the only one we ever hear of in the whole dynasty of the Ptolemies.

Meanwhile, if she indeed detained Caesar in Egypt till the birth of this child, though it was but a bare nine months, she greatly endangered his interests. He should have been at the centre of affairs. And when by and by she came to Rome, and set up life at a villa as the Dictator's acknowledged mistress, she held what may be called a very humiliating position. She was indeed visited by Cicero and other people of position, as the *maitresse en titre* of the great man, but we do not hear that she ever made a friend in Rome, least of all among the Roman ladies, who must have regarded her with hatred or disgust. Her sudden and silent disappearance after Caesar's murder shews that she had all things prepared for such a flight, and that she probably felt very insecure in Rome. With her insight into character (which we may assume) she must have seen what sort of man Antony was, and when he turned out one of the leading men of the world she may have guessed that he would be conquered as easily as the far greater Caesar had been.

This conquest, according to all the evidence we have, was carried out with all the deliberate arts of a courtesan, who had royal splendour at her command. Here again she violated all the traditions of her race, and treated with open contempt even the prejudices of the Roman world, which she must have fully ascertained during her stay in Rome. But she saw another chance, and a very reasonable one, of recovering not only her power over Egypt, but of carving out of the nearer East kingdoms for the children she bore Antony. Yet in the eyes of all the world, though she may have gone through some ceremony at the Egyptian "Registry Office," she was the mistress of Antony, and had lured him away from his lawful wife.

When she had made Antony her willing slave, she proceeded to claim for his three children kingdoms in the nearer East, which once had been under the sway of her ancestors. To her son Caesarion was reserved the kingdom of Egypt, and she is commonly and justly regarded as a mother most anxious for the future greatness of her children. Even tigresses are said to be devoted to their offspring. But her conduct towards her own generation shews how cruelly unscrupulous she was, when their interests were concerned. With her plucky elder brother, who was her designated husband, she was at open war, and had she conquered him, she would doubtless have put him to death on the spot. Her younger brother, the insignificant Ptolemy XV, her titular husband, she carried to Rome, and he disappears under grave suspicions of poison. There remains her sister Arsinoë, who was the first to raise a national revolt against Caesar and his mistress. Cleopatra could tolerate to see this royal sister paraded in chains at Caesar's triumph in Rome. Arsinoë escaped death then, probably owing to Caesar's clemency, for royal victims led in triumph were usually executed. She escaped her sister by retiring to a convent (as we should say) at the temple of Artemis in Miletus. Here after some years she was murdered by Antony's orders at the instigation of her unnatural sister.

But why this relentless hatred? Cleopatra knew full well, that in case of her own

death, either of her brothers or her sister, of pure royal blood, would have raised the Egyptian populace in revolution against the offspring of Caesar or of Antony. The exterminating of rival claimants was a common feature in the sovran of those days. Even Octavian committed the very needless, and therefore stupid, cruelty of having Caesarion and Antyllus (Antony's son by Fulvia) murdered.

When we come to consider the ambitions of this queen of tragedy from the historical point of view, we cannot but see that she attempted the impossible. Even had Antony conquered at Actium, nothing would have reconciled the Roman aristocracy, nay even the Roman populace, with the even indirect domination of an Oriental stranger over them. We might as well imagine an Empress of China, with all her fabulous wealth and splendour, imagining that by marrying some truant European sovran she could take her place at his court, and exercise her despotic humours upon his people. Cleopatra's presence in Rome, and her probable influence in the East after Caesar's projected conquest, may well have been a strong point in the mouth of Brutus and his foul conspiracy. It was certainly the main cause of Antony's failure to organize his host for the critical campaign against Octavian. His officers could not bear the imperious interference of this foreign mistress of their chief.

We have no right to judge of her ability as a sovran of her own kingdom from the occasional censures of her enemies. She certainly ruled without having to face any revolution at home, after the first outbreak against her, induced by her conduct with Caesar. She did her share of beautifying the national temples; and if she behaved with indecent violence towards a faithless slave in the presence of Octavian, she atoned for it by the royal dignity of her death, and the devotion of those that shared it with their mistress.





Group of Wersa and Sit-Re.

## A NEW MONUMENT FROM COPTOS

By F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A., F.S.A.

MISS NINA F. LAYARD of Ipswich has given me permission to publish a fine example of Egyptian sculpture which has lately come into her possession, a group in limestone of "the superintendent of the gold-countries Wersu" and his wife "the house-mistress Sit-Re" (Plate I). The group is 10 inches (48 cm.) high, 7 inches (18 cm.) from back to front. The two figures are represented seated on a bench, somewhat widely separated but in an affectionate attitude, making a symmetrical pair. The left arm of the man and the right arm of his wife are crossed, the man's behind the woman's; the elbows reach the waist, the forearms are raised, and the hand of each appears just behind the other's shoulder. The feet of Wersu rest on a thick mat; his wife is without this luxury. The man wears a girdle round the middle with tunic reaching more than half way down between the knee and the foot. The loop of the girdle is faintly engraved projecting from it just to the (proper) left of the navel. Sit-Re is clothed with the usual woman's tunic from below the breasts, hung by two straps over the shoulders. Her face, enclosed by a heavy wig, is slightly smiling, of a type usual in the XVIIIth Dynasty about the time of Amenhotp II<sup>1</sup>. The head of Wersu is unfortunately lost.

The man's name is engraved on the back of the group (Plate II, A) followed by seven columns of inscription. Three more columns are on each side (Plate III, B, C) and one down the middle of the tunic of each figure (Plate III, D, E). These inscriptions are practically perfect.

A. "The superintendent of mountain-countries Wersu, deceased.

"Grace given by the king and Osiris lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos, that he give funerary meals, bread and beer, oxen and fowls, thread and cloth, incense and oil, all good and pure things on which a god liveth, and the drinking of water at the swirl of the river, to the *ka* of the superintendent of mountain-countries of gold of Ammon, Wersu, deceased.

"Grace given by the king and Anubis presiding in the divine kiosque, that he may grant the receiving of daily food to the *ka* of his wife whom he loves, Sit-Re, deceased.

"Wersu saith 'Verily any one who shall violate my corpse in the tomb-pit, who

<sup>1</sup> See Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, I, Pl. LXXV for a near parallel to the group both in arrangement and costume, and of this very date.

shall drag my statue from my tomb-chapel, he shall be punished by Re, he shall not receive water at the drink-stand of Osiris, he shall not bequeath his goods to his children, for ever!."

B, C. "The superintendent of mountain-countries of gold of Ammon, Wersu, deceased. He saith 'Verily he who trespasses on my place, who shall injure (my) chapel (or) drag out my corpse, the ka of Re shall punish him, he shall not bequeath his goods to his children; his heart shall not have satisfaction in life, he shall not receive water in the tomb-pit, his soul shall be destroyed, for ever! This land is wide, it has no limit(?): do ye for yourselves even as (I) have done; (for) a soul is spiritualised (or 'glorified' or 'benefited') by what has been done for it (or what it hath done):'"

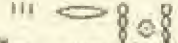
D. "That which is offered upon the altar in the house of Min, for the superintendent of the mountain-lands of gold, Wersu, deceased."


E. "That which is offered upon the altar in the house of Isis, for the house-mistress Sit-Re, deceased."

There are a number of interesting points about these inscriptions. First as to the persons represented. Wersu is not a common name but it forms part of the name of a woman in the XVIIIth Dynasty<sup>1</sup>. Sit-Re is commonest in the Middle Kingdom but occurs in the New Kingdom<sup>2</sup>. The title of Wersu, "superintendent of the mountain-lands of gold of Ammon," is borne by no less a person than the viceroy of Cush, afterwards king Seti II of Dyn. XIX<sup>3</sup>, and it and similar titles are held in the XVIIIth Dynasty by Huy the viceroy of Cush under king Tutankhamon in his inscriptions at Faras in Nubia.

The reference to the temples of Min and Isis in the inscriptions D and E show clearly that the group was dedicated in Coptos where Min and Isis were associated together as the principal deities. Coptos was much connected with the import of gold as is seen in the inscriptions of Ameni-Amenemhat at Beni Hasan<sup>4</sup> and in the title "superintendent of the mountain-lands of gold of Coptos" occurring in the grave of Menkheperre-senb<sup>5</sup>.

The severe and repeated curse on the violator of the tomb-chapel and mummy of Wersu prove that the group came from his tomb. The protective curses inscribed on Egyptian monuments have been recently collected in a special volume by a French scholar<sup>6</sup>: there are very few from the New Kingdom<sup>7</sup> and none so detailed as this except the elaborate curses upon any king or other person who should disturb Seti I's arrangements at Redesia, on the route to the gold mines<sup>8</sup>. But the rather pathetic appeal to the good sense of posterity in the last words of B, is, so far as I know, unique in Egyptian, and is the most interesting feature of the inscription: "This land is wide, and has no limit. Do ye then for yourselves, even as I have done; for a man's

<sup>1</sup> Read  as is shown in special rubbings of the obscure portion.

<sup>2</sup>  should be restored.

<sup>3</sup> Pierret, *Inscriptions du Louvre*, II, 79.

<sup>4</sup> Liébault, *Dict. Suppl.* 2138.

<sup>5</sup> Brousted, *Revue*, III, 647.

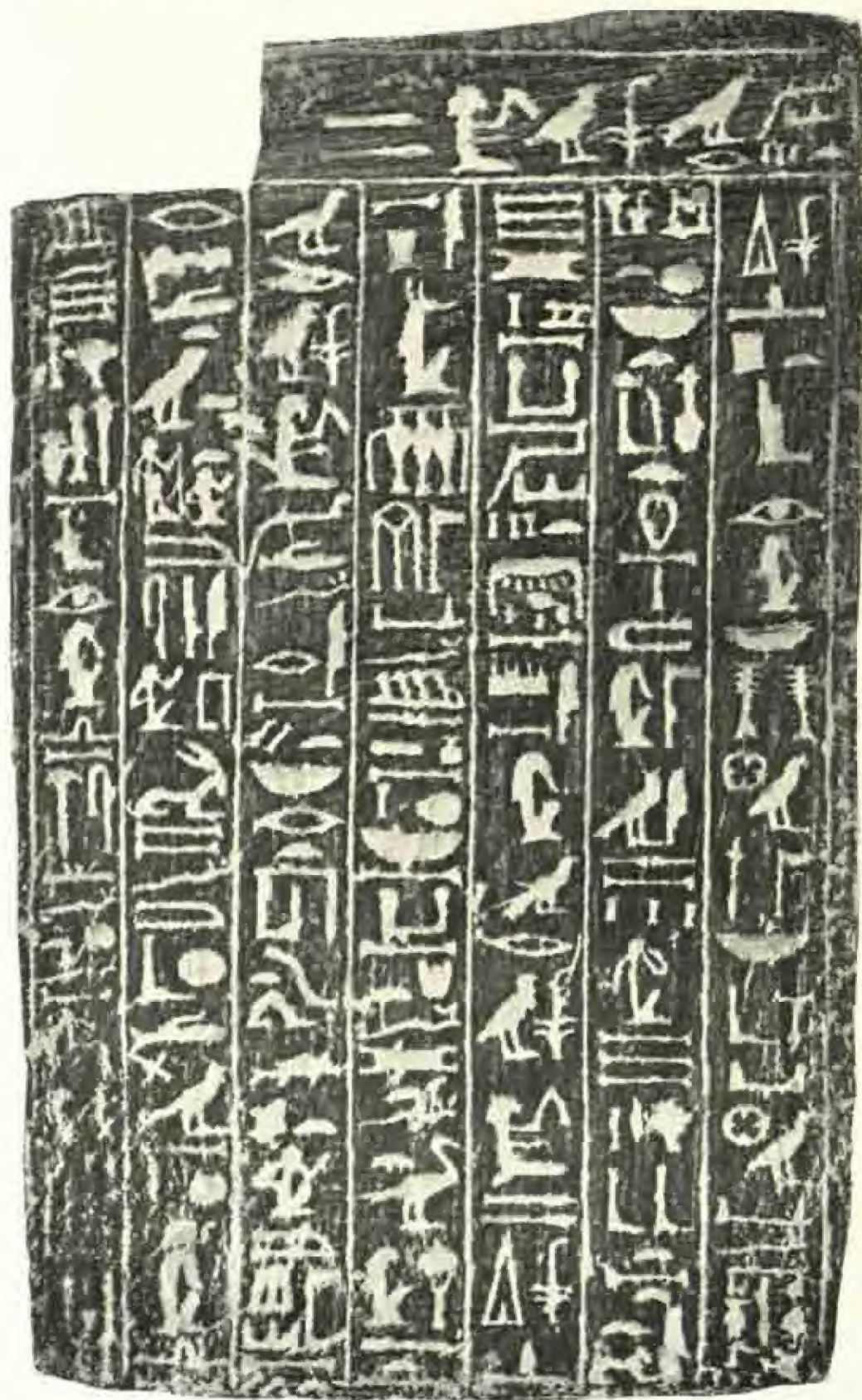
<sup>6</sup> *ib.* I, 521.

<sup>7</sup> *ib.* II, 774.

<sup>8</sup> H. Settas, *La preservation de la propriété funéraire dans l'ancienne Égypte avec le recueil des formules d'imprécation.*

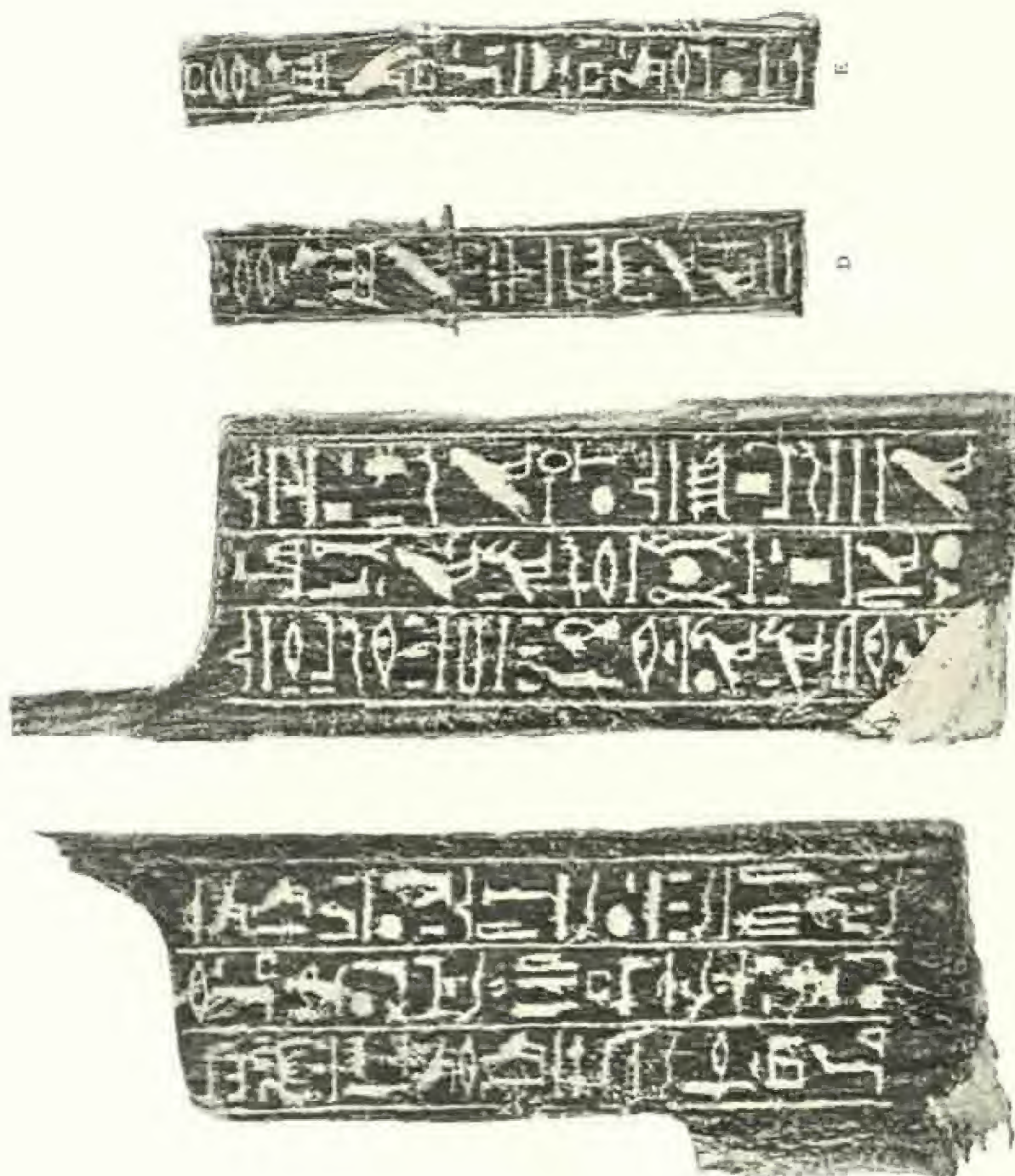
<sup>9</sup> *ib.* p. 54.

<sup>10</sup> *ib.* p. 128.



Inscription on the back (A)





Inscriptions on the sides (B, C) and front (D, E).



soul is benefited by the preparations that have been made for it<sup>1</sup>. This is not very lucid especially in the original, and one might have expected a greater development of the theme. But probably the idea was not unfamiliar to the Egyptians and may have been fully expressed in some one of their classical compositions; to such a composition the passage quoted may be considered to allude.

Miss Layard informs me that between 40 and 50 years ago a Mr Dale bought the group off a barge in Egypt and left it with his brother Mr Frank Dale in Wickham Market. It remained in the latter's house until this year when it was sold on behalf of the widow of the purchaser to Miss Layard. I have to thank Miss Layard for admirable rubbings of the inscriptions, for measurements and other particulars, as well as for superintending the very successful photograph after a first failure.

<sup>1</sup> The spelling gives *m grn-f* and strictly signifies "by what it has done." But probably, according to Egyptian ideas, the man, not his soul, would have been the agent for good or evil. If we may suppose *m grt n-f* to be intended, meaning "by what has been done for it," a more consistent sense is obtained for the whole passage.

## A REMARKABLE BURIAL CUSTOM OF THE OLD KINGDOM

By T. ERIC PEET, B.A.

THE photograph shown in Plate IV Fig. 1 illustrates two (Brit. Mus. Nos. 53897, 53898) of a number of mud balls found in the sand filling of a small mastaba in Cemetery D at Abydos in the season 1912-13<sup>1</sup>. The original number of the balls must have been about 40, and they lay mostly in the north-east corner (by river reckoning) of the sand core of the mastaba (No. 124). In diameter they vary from 20 to 40 centimetres and they are all approximately circular. With a few exceptions all have the surface covered with numerous impressions of a reticulated seal, probably a cylinder. The squares of this grille design are sunk on the balls, while the network between them is at the original level of the surface of the balls. The design on the cylinder was probably six squares in width each square being of equal breadth. The length of the design round the curved face of the cylinder cannot be determined with certainty owing to the incompleteness of the impressions on the extremely convex surface of the balls. It is, however, clear that two adjacent rows of the squares were considerably longer than the rest. The probable design is shown in Fig. 2.

On the surface of the balls, after the marking of the grille, was roughly incised with a sharp pointed implement, sometimes as many as six times on the same ball and with little regard to direction, the group of signs of which eight examples are shown in Fig. 3. As to the meaning of these signs I have no suggestions to offer, nor is it even certain which way up they should be read though, as will be shown later, they are probably right as placed here. It is not impossible that they are meant for hieratic forms, but of this there is no proof. The two inner groups on the lower line seem at first sight to differ entirely from the rest; they only occurred on one single ball while the rest, with unimportant variations, occurred over and over again. Only one ball was wholly uninscribed.

The substance of the balls is ordinary Nile mud with which have been intentionally intermixed certain impurities such as small fragments of charcoal, pottery, and, in one case, a piece of bone. Towards the centre the balls are much blackened by carbonaceous matter, and at the centre, in the three balls opened for examination, were in two cases fragments of reed (possibly papyrus) and in the third case a tiny piece of linen cloth. The fragments were so fragile that they disintegrated on exposure to the air. They were badly discoloured and it was impossible to observe whether they had been inscribed.

<sup>1</sup> *Cemetery of Abydos*, III, p. 20.



Fig. 1. Scale 1.

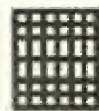
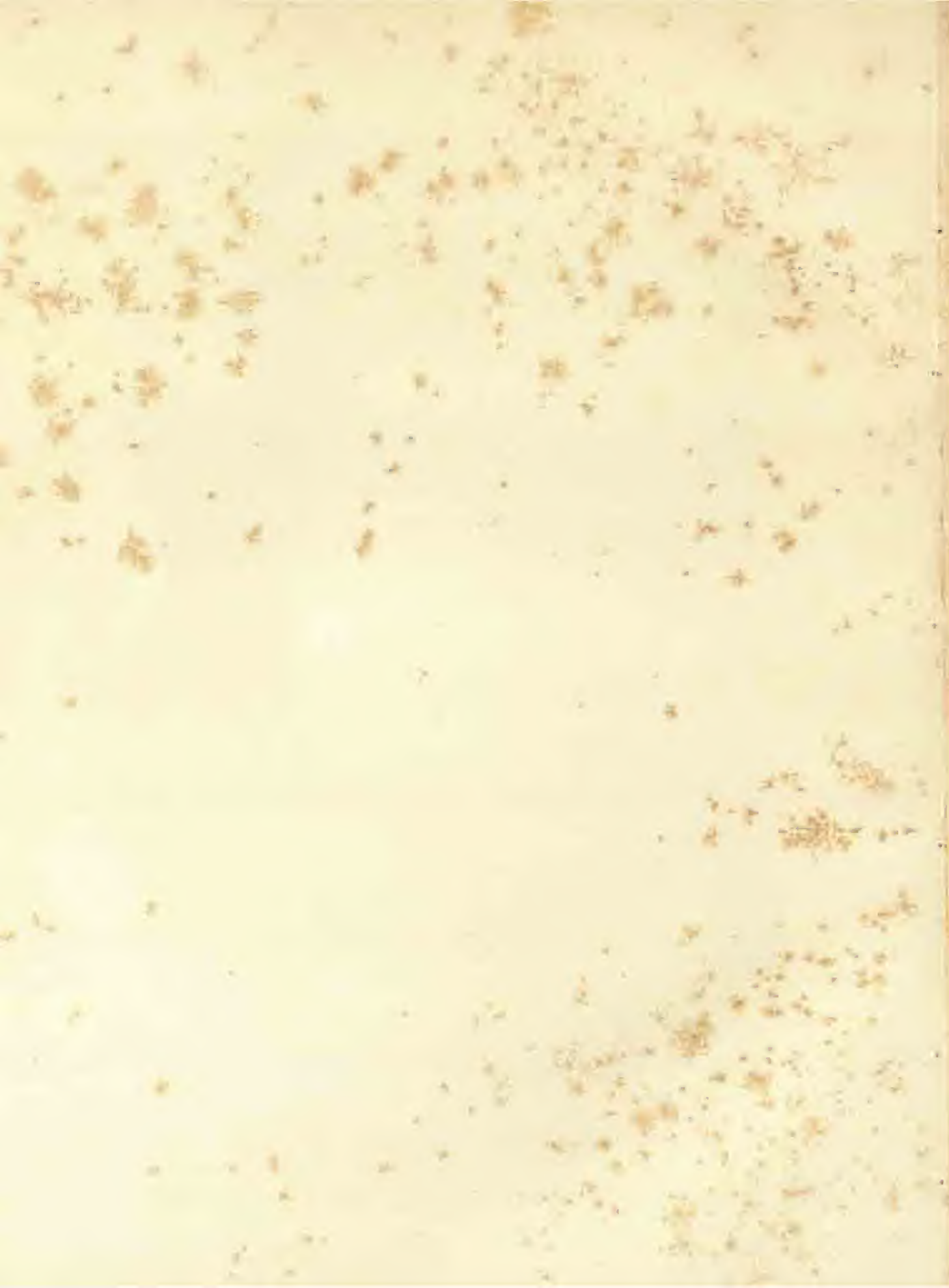


Fig. 2. Scale 1.



Fig. 3. Scale 1.

Mud balls from Old Kingdom mastaba, Abydos.  
(Brit. Mus. Nos. 53897, 53898.)



Remarkable as these objects are in themselves they become still more so from the fact that precisely similar balls were found by Garstang at Reqaqna in a small hole bored into the top of the wall of mastaba 50 near its north-west corner<sup>1</sup>. They seem to have been on the whole larger than those from Abydos, but they have the same grille pattern impressed on them. They bear also in incision the same group of signs, to which, however, are added below two animals (or a man and an animal) apparently fighting, and below this again a crocodile. From the arrangement of these groups it is probable that the signs on the Abydos balls are to be read in the position in which we have drawn them in the figure. Mastaba 50 is perhaps to be attributed to the Vth Dynasty<sup>2</sup> and a similar or slightly earlier date is to be given to the Abydos mastaba.

It would be foolish to dogmatize with regard to the purpose of these objects. That they were connected with the rites of burial is however fairly certain, and we may conjecture that they had some magical significance.

<sup>1</sup> Garstang, *Third Egyptian Dynasty*, pp. 32, 39. Pl. XXX. Some of these balls are still preserved in the museum of the Institute of Archaeology, Liverpool. Professor Garstang kindly opened two in my presence and found them to contain, like our Abydos examples, small pieces of cloth made up into pellets.

<sup>2</sup> So Reimner, *Naga ed Der*, i, p. 135.

## AN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN FUNERAL CEREMONY

BY ARTHUR E. P. B. WEIGALL



Fig. 1.

It does not ever seem to have been observed that in many Egyptian tomb-paintings and reliefs there is a representation of the amputation of a leg from a living bull calf during a funeral. This cruel rite was performed at the mouth of the tomb in the presence of the mummy; and in every case the mother cow is shown in great distress, lowing beside her calf. In the Theban tombs of the New Kingdom there are altogether, so far as I remember, about ten representations of this ceremony. In the accompanying illustrations, Figure 1, which is from a relief in the Cairo Museum, No. 396, from the tomb of a certain Ptahmose of Dynasty XIX, shows the leg being cut off; Figure 2, which is from a drawing in the Hay MS No. A. 29851, 227, shows the mutilated calf with its distressed mother; and Figure 3, from the tomb of Zai at Thebes, Dynasty XIX, represents the calf walking on three legs. Sometimes the blood is seen dropping from the wound, and in one or two cases a priest is seen near by carrying the severed limb to the tomb. I hope some archaeologist will have the time, which unfortunately I cannot find myself, to investigate this interesting ceremony and to discover its significance.

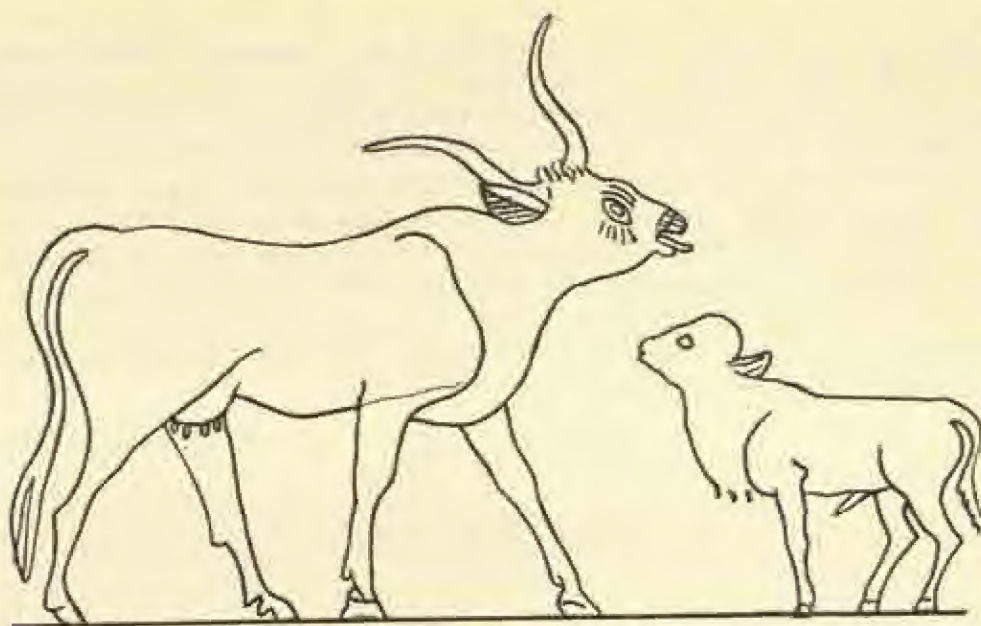


Fig. 2.

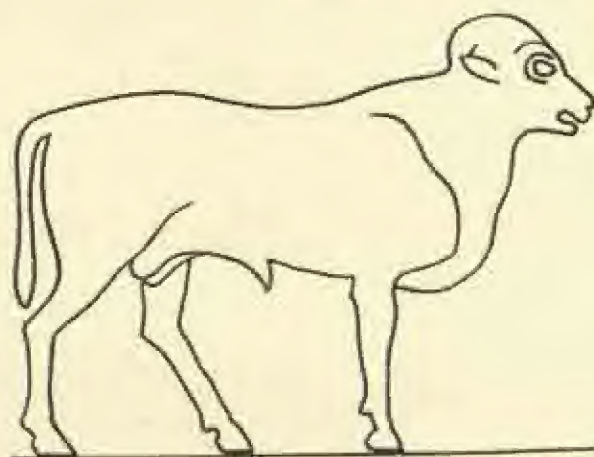


Fig. 3.

[Mr Weigall has asked me to append a note to his interesting observation, the accuracy of which cannot be questioned. The vignettes illustrating Ch. I of the Book of the Dead are the most comprehensive scenes that we possess of the ceremonies at the tomb. Here in the photographic reproduction of the Greenfield Papyrus<sup>1</sup> we see the three-legged calf standing with its mother while its remaining fore-leg is carried to the altar: the calf has neither been tied for sacrifice nor has its throat

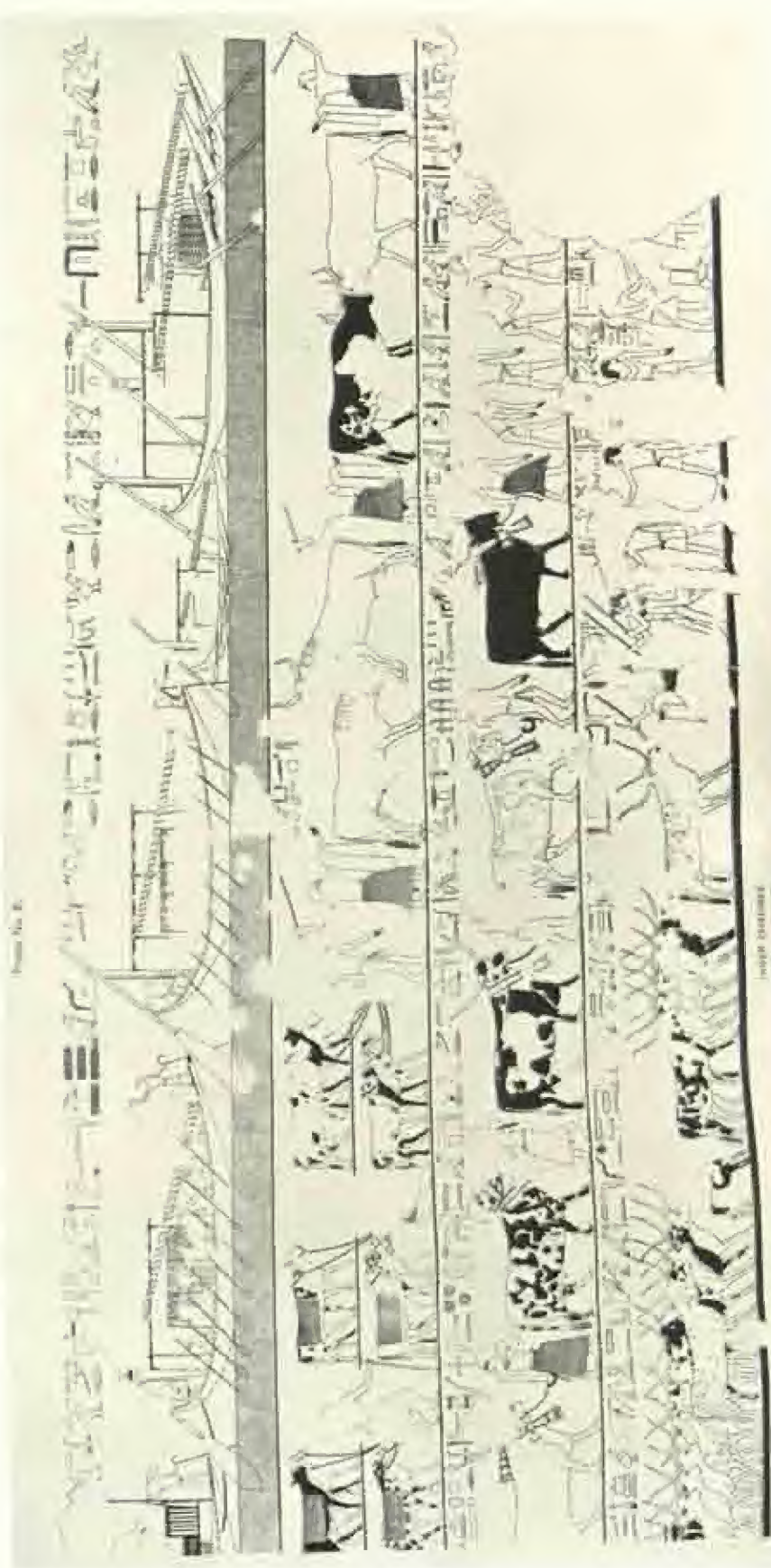
<sup>1</sup> Pl. III of Dr Budge's edition.

been cut. This representation dates from Dyn. XXI. The other papyri of the New Kingdom which show the incident (Papyrus of Ani, Papyrus of Hunefer, both of Dyn. XVIII) appear to treat it in the same way, although the artist seems to have falsely begun to draw the fourth leg on the calf. The papyrus of Pekrrr at Leyden, which dates from the time of the Deltaic dynasties, shows the calf standing with four legs, apparently before the operation<sup>1</sup>, and the great post-Saite papyrus published by Lepsius agrees with it. The text of Ch. 1 of the Book of the Dead has no reference to the details of the vignettes. They can be followed to some extent in the Funerary Ritual published by Schiaparelli, but I do not know of any text describing the vivisection of the calf. Doubtless it seemed very appropriate and acceptable for the refreshment of the dead to offer him the choicest joint, the shoulder, quivering and full of warm blood from the living calf.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.]

<sup>1</sup> Naville, *Totib.* 1, Pl. iv.




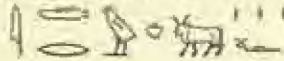
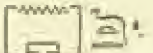


Part of a scene depicting *Ḥouty-ḥtp*, Nomarch of the Hare Nome, presiding over the counting of his herds of cattle  
(see Nawcmar, *El-Hersheb*, 5, pl. XVIII).



# AN INDIRECT REFERENCE TO SESOSTRIS III's SYRIAN CAMPAIGN IN THE TOMB-CHAPEL OF *DHWTY-HTP* AT EL-BERSHEH

BY AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN, M.A.

IN the inner chamber of the tomb-chapel of *Dhwty-htp* at El-Bersheh (NEWBERRY, *El-Bersheh*, I, Pls. XVII—XIX) there is a scene depicting that nomarch presiding over the periodical enumeration of the herds of cattle kept in the various farms on his domain<sup>1</sup>. Such cattle were of two classes,—as we gather from the inscriptions accompanying this scene<sup>2</sup> and from other sources as well<sup>3</sup>,—viz. herds belonging to the king and committed to the care of the nomarch () and

herds that formed part of the nomarch's personal property ( []). There is much in this fine series of reliefs to attract our attention—the


fleet of boats in which the nomarch and his suite have arrived at the scene of operations, the prize cattle gaily bedecked with ribbons, and the underlings being hustled by officious ushers into the great man's presence. But what concerns this article is the beginning of the inscription above the line of cattle in register 4 (see Pl. V and NEWBERRY, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVIII), which, owing no doubt to its mutilated condition, has, so far as the writer is aware, escaped comment since its appearance in 1893 in Mr NEWBERRY's admirable publication. The part of the text which we shall discuss

is as follows:  The first intelligible words after the introductory *dd mdw in* are...  which must surely mean "the cattle of *Rḥnu* (Syria)."

<sup>1</sup>  "The farms of the Hare-Nome" (NEWBERRY, *op. cit.*, p. 26).

<sup>2</sup> NEWBERRY, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVIII, register 1 and Pl. XIX.

<sup>3</sup> See BREASTED, *History of Egypt*, pp. 162, 163, and *Id.*, *Records*, I, § 522 with footnote a.

<sup>4</sup> For the meaning of  see GARDINER, *Rec. Trav.*, XXXIII, p. 227, footnote 2.

In 1900 Professor GARSTANG found at Abydos the stele of a certain *Sbk-hw*<sup>1</sup>, bearing an inscription of great historical importance, for in it *Sbk-hw* tells us that he accompanied Sesostris III when that king, during an incursion into Syria (*Rtaw*), captured the town of *Skmm*. Till this discovery was made by Professor GARSTANG we did not know that any invasion of Syria had taken place during the XIIth Dynasty.

Now *Dhwty-htp* according to Mr Newberry's calculation<sup>2</sup> flourished in the reigns of Amenemes II, Sesostris II, and Sesostris III, and perhaps survived into the reign of Amenemes III. Seeing that he was probably nomarch of the Hare-Nome when the invasion of Syria occurred, may we not see in this fragmentary inscription in his tomb-chapel an indirect allusion to that important event? Cattle as we know regularly formed part of the tribute imposed from time to time upon *Rtaw* by the victorious Tuthmosis III<sup>3</sup>. But tribute of cattle was not confined to the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty, for as early as the time of Sæferu a raid into the "Land of the Negro" produced in addition to 7,000 prisoners, 200,000 large and small cattle. It seems highly probable, therefore, that cattle would have formed an important part of the spoils brought back by Sesostris on his triumphant return to Egypt, some of which may well have been included among the crown-herds pastured on *Dhwty-htp's* domain.

There is one more point of interest in the opening words of this fragmentary song<sup>4</sup> which I have already quoted, but, except for two words, not translated. The translation seems to be: "Utterance of.....the cattle of *Rtaw* during the counting (1) (*tnw-t*!). 'Ye trod' the sand, ye walk (now) on herbage and browse on *šnw*...." The verb *hw-n-tu* is past tense "ye trod," whereas the succeeding verbs *hnd-tu*, *wmm-tu* are in the form *sdm-f*. May it not be that the herdsmen desire to draw a comparison between the—in their opinion—hard life of these cattle in Syria, and their present luxurious existence in Egypt?

We might perhaps paraphrase thus: "Ye (once) trod the (Syrian) sand, (now, here in Egypt) ye walk on herbage, etc." That Syria was a sandy desert country in comparison with the fertile black land of Egypt, seems to have been the prevailing notion of the Middle Kingdom Egyptians. This is well illustrated in the "Tale of Sinuhe" (B. 294), where the exile informs us that after he had been received back into the royal favour he cast aside his Asiatic clothes and assumed the garb of the civilized Nile-Valley dweller, and "gave the sand to those who are in it." Those who are in the sand were of course the tribe with whom Sinuhe resided during his long years of enforced absence from Egypt, and who, on his own telling, lived in a fertile country (*Sinuhe* B. 81-4)<sup>5</sup>. Thus in saying that the cattle used to tread the sand when they were in their native Syria, these old-time *fellahs* are merely expressing the current popular idea about that—to them—far-off land.

<sup>1</sup> GARSTANG, *El-Arabak*, Pl. V, pp. 32, 33.

<sup>2</sup> NEWBERRY, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 668-9, 691-2, 699, 705-6, 717-18, 721-2.

<sup>4</sup> This inscription seems, as Mr NEWBERRY suggests, to be the song of the herdsmen in charge of the cattle.

<sup>5</sup> For this meaning of *hw* see the song of the threshers in GRIFFITH, *Papers*, Pl. III, register 4.

<sup>6</sup> The modern *fellah* thinks Egypt the most fertile country in the world and his commonest questions about England are "Does *baršm* (the favourite fodder for cattle) grow in England? Is there fresh water there?"

## THE PRONUNCIATION OF COPTIC IN THE CHURCH OF EGYPT

By Dr G. P. G. SOBHY

IN the following article I do not wish to be dogmatic in the least, but I base my personal opinions on deductions which I shall explain hereafter. My two guiding criteria are the way the present Copts pronounce their own language, and also the Arabic language—for they do not pronounce the latter as the Arabs do—and the second is the actual variations in the spelling of words as found in different MSS.

There is no doubt that the Copts had rules for the pronunciation of their language, and, although they were never recorded, I believe these rules must have been so self-obvious as to make such recording unnecessary.

All modern books written on Coptic by native authors adopt more or less a mutilated form of Greek pronunciation and apply it entirely to their language. Unfortunately none of our native authors here knows sufficient Greek to realise the outstanding mistakes he is trying to form into rules applicable to the Coptic language. I believe that an ordinary uneducated priest in reciting any Coptic prayer in Church, pronounces the language much more correctly, and naturally too, than if he followed those erroneous rules set down in the modern Coptic books—for he has the inherent power of forming the sounds of the different characters in the language of his forefathers. Indeed he pronounces the Arabic language itself as if it were Coptic. Often and often this fact struck me while I was at Church, standing at a distance from the officiating priest, when it was impossible for me—and I believe for many others—to decide whether he was chanting in Arabic or in Coptic. I must not however be too generalising in my statements. All the priests who have not adopted the modern artificial method of Coptic pronunciation utter most of their words as if they were spelt according to the Sahidic dialect. It must be remembered also that the Church pronunciation of Coptic is the same all over Egypt as I have verified it myself; except in the case of Girga where local characteristics of pronunciation are alluded to (see below). In Alexandria the pronunciation is certainly contaminated with modern innovations. It is only in Upper Egypt and some places of Lower Egypt where old priests are still officiating that one hears the Church pronunciation in its purest form. It was the Patriarch, the Bishop of Fayyum and the late Bishop of Khartûm, who dictated to me the pronunciation of the Lord's Prayer appended at the end of this article. Each one of them dictated it separately and by comparison I found the three versions absolutely the same.




The following is a table showing the names and values of the Coptic alphabet according to Church pronunciation.

Α	Alpha	Ⲁ	-a- short as in English <i>am</i> ; <i>ā</i> long in English <i>Father</i> .
Β	Ūda	Ⲃ	-u-; when final = <i>b</i> .
Γ	Ghamma	Ⲅ	Before α, ο, ω = Ⲅ; otherwise hard <i>g</i> .
Δ	Dalda	Ⲇ	English - <i>d</i> .
Ε	Eiy	Ⲉ	Pronounced exactly as Α above.
Ϛ	So-on	Ⲋ	Only in numerals.
Ζ	Zita	Ⲍ	<i>z</i> in the English word <i>zeal</i> .
Η	Hida	Ⲏ	Generally pronounced as <i>i</i> or the sound of English <i>ee</i> in <i>queen</i> ; occasionally as long <i>d</i> as in English ( <i>bath</i> ).
Θ	Tida	Ⲑ	= <i>t</i> invariably.
Ι	Iōda	Ⲓ	<i>i</i> in the English word <i>pick</i> , or the sound of <i>ee</i> in <i>queen</i> .
Κ	Kabba	Ⲕ	English <i>k</i> .
Λ	Lōla	Ⲗ	" <i>l</i> .
Μ	Miy	Ⲙ	" <i>m</i> .
Ν	Niy	Ⲛ	" <i>n</i> .
Ξ	Exi	Ⲝ	" <i>x</i> = <i>ks</i> .
Ο	Ow	Ⲟ	<i>o</i> in the English word <i>not</i> ; or <i>ō</i> in the English word <i>pope</i> .
Π	Biy	Ⲡ	English <i>b</i> .
Ρ	Ro	Ⲣ	" <i>r</i> .
Ϛ	Sima	Ⲥ	" <i>s</i> in the English word <i>sun</i> .
Τ	Dau	Ⲧ	" <i>d</i> .
Ϙ	Hey	Ⲩ	<i>i</i> as in English <i>pick</i> , or <i>g</i> = English <i>ow</i> in <i>how</i> e.g. ⲛⲁⲩ is pronounced <i>adu</i> ; ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥⲩ = <i>ammas</i> ; but ⲩⲙⲁⲛⲟⲥ = <i>kimonos</i> .
ϙ	Biy, Fiy	Ⲋ, ⲋ	= <i>b</i> ; occasionally <i>ph</i> as in <i>Philip</i> .
Χ	Chiy	Ⲍ, ⲍ	in all Coptic words = <i>ch</i> in English <i>choir</i> ; in Greek words = <i>ch</i> in Scotch <i>loch</i> = Ⲅ before α, ο, ω, e.g. Χορος, Χαρις, but = <i>ch</i> as in English <i>chair</i> before ε, η, ι, and ϙ, e.g. Χερε, Χερουθιμ.
Ψ	Eloxy	ⲏ	= <i>bs</i> .
Ω	Ōo	Ⲑ	<i>ō</i> as in the English word <i>bove</i> .
Ϡ	Shay	ⲑ	= <i>sh</i> in the English <i>sheep</i> .
ϡ	Faiy	Ⲓ	= <i>f</i> .
Ϣ	Khāi	ⲓ	Arabic <i>kh</i> guttural.
ϣ	Hōry	Ⲕ	<i>h</i> in English <i>here</i> .
Ϥ	Ganga	ⲕ	Soft as in English <i>George</i> ; hard as in English <i>good</i> .
ϥ	Chitna	Ⲍ	<i>ch</i> in English word <i>chair</i> .
Ϧ	Dy	Ⲏ	= <i>di</i> .

Note.—The accent (˘) which is placed on consonants and sometimes on vowels represents always the sound *e* in the English word *along*. Thus the definite articles ⲁ, Ⲃ, ⲃ, Ⲅ, ⲅ are always pronounced -*eb*-, -*et*-, etc.; also in regular words whether Coptic or Greek. Thus all such words as ἱερωμὶ, ἁγίωμ, ἡλὴν, ἡλῆρως, are pronounced *etashimi*, *etshimi*, *etshimi*, *etshimi*, etc.

**A, E.** Generally speaking there is no difference in the Church pronunciation of these two letters. The interchange between these two letters is common in the different dialects of Coptic. The word *ερον* is pronounced as if it were written *αρον* and so forth wherever the letters appear. There is no difference also between *u* and *i*, but in some words even *u* is pronounced as if it were *a*, e.g. *αϣηου* is always pronounced *nijāwi*.

The combinations *ov*, *ωov*, *uov*, *av*, *ev*, *uv*. With the first two combinations the accent is usually employed and their pronunciation resembles exactly the Arabic *آو*, i.e. with the letter *ā* doubled; thus *άov* is pronounced *ebdā*; the syllable *uov* is always uttered *āwi*—*آوي*; *av*, *ev* are pronounced *āū* and *uv* is *āy*—*آي*.

The letter **B** may have been pronounced in ancient times, particularly in the Northern Dialects, as the English *v*. The ancient Egyptian letter  which must have been the original of the letter *k* in value does not appear to have been pronounced like *v*. In names of Roman emperors, where the letter *v* figured, it was always transliterated by the letters  . The Church pronounces it to-day invariably as *d* when it figures in the beginning or middle of words; but it is pronounced as *b* when it is final. Thus *έβδ* = *bdā*, *νβεν* = *nivān*; but *εovab* = *atādb*, *ovab* = *ādb*. This rule is quite invariable.

The letter **Γ** only figures in Greek words and occasionally in some Sahidic words where it may represent either *κ* or the sound *g* as in English *gun*.

The modern Church pronounces it exactly like the Arabic *غ* before the letters *α*, *ω*, *ο*, and consonants. In words where it is followed by *ε*, *u*, or *i*, it takes the sound of hard *g* as in *gun*. Thus they say *Γεωργιος* = *Gawargios*, but *ταγμα* = *taghma*. When it is followed by another *ε* it is pronounced as in Greek = *κ*. Thus *αγγελος* = *angelos*.

**Δ** is always pronounced as *d*.

**Ζ**. Very rarely does this letter stand for *ε* in Coptic words such as it does in the word *ανζα*, "school," from *ένω*, "to learn," and even then it is pronounced more like an *s* than *z*. Ordinarily it only figures in Greek words.

**Η**. Sometimes pronounced as an *a* short or long, see above. Ordinarily as an *i*, in English *tip* or *i* long as in Italian *vita*.

**Θ**. The modern Church pronunciation is invariably like the English letter *t*. In certain words it appeared to be the representative of two letters *τθ*, pronounced as *th* in the English word *through*, e.g. *θωλε* Bohairic for *τθωλε* in Sahidic.

Sometimes it stands for a simple *τ*, e.g. Boh. *ηοοκ*, Sah. *ατκ*, *ατοκ*. At any rate it is always pronounced as *t* in the Church.

**Κ** stands for the simple letter *k*.

**Λ** stands for *l*. In Ancient Egyptian apparently the letters *l* and *r* interchanged frequently. In Fayyūmish the letter *λ* stands for *p* so often that it becomes one of the characteristics of the dialect.

**Μ, Η** stand for the simple sounds of *m*, *n*.

**Ξ**, a compound of *κ* and *ε*, is always pronounced as such.

**Ο** is pronounced like the English *o* in *pope* or *o* in *not*.

**Π** is now pronounced as *b*. It interchanges with **Φ**, but the latter then is also

pronounced as *b*. Thus we have  $\phi\alpha\iota$  and  $\nu\alpha\iota$ , which are both pronounced *báy*, just as we have  $\tau\alpha\iota$  and  $\phi\alpha\iota$  which are both pronounced *táy*.

P. See under  $\lambda$ .

C represents the sound of *s* as in English *sister*.

T is always given the value of *d*. Thus  $\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\delta\alpha = d\delta\alpha$ ,  $\tau\alpha\iota = d\alpha\iota$ ,  $\tau\alpha\mu\iota\alpha\tau = Dami\ddot{a}di$ . In certain words, however, for which the reason cannot be given, it is pronounced as English *t*, as in  $\pi\tau\alpha = ent\ddot{a}k$  (unless because the letter stands here for  $\phi$ ),  $\kappa\tau\alpha\tau\tau = s\ddot{a}t\ddot{a}t$ , etc.

In modern colloquial Arabic the letter *d* is always pronounced like *t* at Mansûrah and in almost all the towns on the eastern branch of the Delta, up to Damietta. In Upper Egypt, however, especially round about Akhmîm and Girgah, the sound *d* often stands for *g*. The people there say 'Dordy' for Giorgy, and 'Damian' for Gamian, and 'Dirdia' for Girgia. This however does not mean that they cannot pronounce the letter *g* when it occurs in words; but to some people it is sometimes very difficult to pronounce the hard *g*. Priests of these localities often say 'Dawardios' for Gawargios and the name *Daward* is very common amongst them.

T. In Coptic words it stands for the sound of *u* in the English word *mule*. It is never, however, pronounced as *v* aspirated in combinations as  $\alpha\tau$ ,  $\epsilon\tau$ , etc. They are always pronounced *dd*. In words as  $\epsilon\mu\alpha$  Boh. and  $\epsilon\mu\alpha$  Sah. both are pronounced as the English word *how*.

$\Phi$ . This letter is pronounced in the Church (1) as  $\acute{e}$ ; they say  $\phi\alpha\iota = b\acute{a}y$ ,  $\mu\phi\alpha\alpha\tau = emb\acute{o}l$ . (2) as an ordinary *f*, as in  $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho = Filopat\acute{e}r$ . This happens in proper names. It is never pronounced as the English *v*.

X. This letter occurs sometimes in Coptic words when it stands for  $\kappa$ , the second personal pronoun affixed to verbs of the present tense, indicative mood, e.g.  $\chi\eta\alpha\delta\omega\lambda = ek\eta\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}$ ;  $\chi\sigma\omega\rho\eta = ek\sigma\omega\rho\acute{\eta}$ . Sometimes it stands for  $\sigma$  as in  $\chi\iota\omicron\rho\epsilon\alpha$  for  $\sigma\iota\omicron\rho\epsilon\alpha$ . Here too it is pronounced as  $\kappa$ . Otherwise it has two values in Greek words, (1) English *ch* in *chair*, as in  $\chi\epsilon\rho\epsilon = cher\acute{e}$ , before  $\epsilon$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\eta$ ; or *ch* = Arabic  $\text{ح}$ , as in  $\chi\omicron\rho\omicron\epsilon = \text{خورس}$ ;  $\chi\omicron\lambda\omicron\tau\iota\omicron\eta = \text{خولوحبون}$ ;  $\alpha\rho\chi\omega\eta = \text{أرخون}$  before  $\omicron$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\omega$ .

$\Psi$  is pronounced as *bs*.

III. There is not much difference between it and  $\omega$  except in certain positions, when  $\omega$  always receives the tonic accent in words.

III. This is always pronounced as *sh* in the English word *sheep*.

H = Arabic  $\text{ح}$  = *ch* in the Scotch word *loch*.

$\Theta$  = *f*.

$\mathcal{E}$ , as the English *h* in *here*.

X. This letter is invariably pronounced in the Churches of Upper Egypt as soft *g* in *George*. In the Churches of the North it has the softened sound of *g* only before the vowels  $\eta$ ,  $\iota$ , when pronounced as *i* in Italian. It follows that because the letters  $\epsilon$  and  $\alpha$  usually are pronounced as  $\epsilon$ , it retains the hard value before them, e.g.  $\eta\epsilon\alpha\mu\iota = peg\acute{a}i$  and  $\alpha\epsilon = ga$  (hard); but  $\alpha\iota\alpha\mu\iota = j\acute{a}m\acute{a}i$  (soft) and  $\alpha\eta = j\acute{a}$  (soft). See also under  $\Gamma$ .

$\sigma$ . This is always pronounced as *ch* in English *chair*. Mistakenly it is pronounced as *sh* in English *sha*.

$\tau$  = *dí*.

Now for the pronunciation of words as a whole. In Coptic as in other languages the exact pronunciation depends on the different situation of the tonic accent on the

different syllables of the word and the exact quantity one would give to the vowels. Fortunately Egyptians in adopting the Greek characters to write their language with, in the formation of Coptic, did not copy their old mode of not writing the vowels but have written each word completely and thus Coptic has come to be read and pronounced exactly as it is written. Of the exact position of the accent on the different syllables of a word nothing but hearing avails, and in this I may seem rather absurd, for the Coptic language has ceased to be spoken: but in my opinion it has never done so. Its unbroken use in the Church has undoubtedly preserved its pronunciation, for it has been thus handed down from one generation of priests to another until our days; and in my own belief a priest who has learned to pronounce this language from his predecessor without the use of the modern sophisticated rules of pronunciation exhibited by Coptic authors in their writings does inherently pronounce it more rightly than any other man.

I append here the Lord's Prayer with a full transliteration according to the indigenous priest's pronunciation. Before doing so, I should like to draw the attention of the reader to the short but succinct rules given by Mallon in his *Grammaire Copte* on p. 10 *et seq.*

Ἀπὴν ἡμῶν ἡμεῖς ἔν ὁυμῆμοι κε : Πεννὸι εἰς ἐν πῆμοι  
 Aridān ememelsha engos xan ūshabehmōt ga : Baniōt adxan nifādi  
 μαρεγοτῆο ἡμε περπαν μαρετ ἡμε τεμετοτοπο νετερναν μαρεμμιοι ἡφρητ  
 marafduo enga bakrān maraf enga dskmadūro badāhnak marafshōbi emebrādi  
 ἐν ἡμε πεμ ὅρην ἡμερ πεμμοι ἡμε πατ μμῆ nan ἡφσοτ οτορ χα  
 xan etba nam higan ebkahi hanōik enda rasdi maif nan emboū ōōh ka  
 πνετῆρον nan ἔολ ἡφρητ ὅων ἡτενχω ἔολ ἡμετοτον ἡταν ἔρωτ οτορ  
 niadarōn nan āl emebrādi hōn endankō āl enniadūon endān ārōū ōōh  
 ἡνεπεντεν ἔσοτν εμπασμοι ἀλλὰ παρην ἔολ χα πνετρωτ ἐν πῆ  
 embarendan āxūn abirasmōs alla parān āl ha bibathōū xan bixristos  
 ἡμε πενῆ. Ἀμῆν.  
 Iūs banchois. Amīn.

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2. M. DE ROCHERONTELL. "La prononciation moderne du Copte dans la Haute-Egypte." *Mém. de la Soc. de linguistique de Paris*, vii. 3, 1891, etc.

## EDWARD AYRTON

The Fund owes more than a simple biographical notice to the memory of Edward Russell Ayrton. He was one of the most energetic and successful excavators we have ever had, and was, moreover, a man of strong character and sterling worth. Independent in spirit, suffering no unmerited slight, yet he was absolutely modest and with regard to his knowledge was far too retiring. His friends had often difficulty in getting him to assert himself as he should in scientific matters, but on the other hand anybody who was rash enough to attempt to "boss" him unduly soon found out his mistake, whatever his seniority or importance might be. Ayrton was emphatically a just man: he claimed less for himself than he deserved, but he would allow no one to claim more than he deserved to the detriment of himself or another. He was a hater of all forms of humbug and pretence; he had a very short way with fools, and those persons, of whom one meets many in dealing with Egyptian matters, who prefer picturesque flummery to simple fact, met with little sympathy from him. His stark simplicity and singleness of mind—there was no *arrière-pensée* in Ayrton—won him the respect and thorough liking of his men. As they say in their ungrammatical speech, *kilm wdhid*, "one word" he had, and he was a *râgil gamit*, a "strong man," tolerating no nonsense, a man such as the Egyptians, used to rule and direction by a superior mind, alone understand. But he did not stand aloof in the demigod manner that some of us appear to think necessary in dealing with the Oriental. That may be, or may have been, the tradition in India, but in Egypt it is otherwise. The fact of the large European population of the country divests the Englishman of his peculiar Indian aura of sanctity, and he is regarded with respect only on account of his personal qualities, not because he is an Englishman. The Egyptian has a great capacity for admiration of and liking for his masters, if they are sympathetic; and if one is too stand-offish with him, one loses his sympathy, and though he will do what he is told, he does it sullenly and without heart. Nowhere, however, more than in Egypt does familiarity breed contempt; and Ayrton's way with his men always struck one as a very good example of how to do it, neither aping the pasha (which merely provokes ridicule and Homeric laughter in the men's camp) nor playing the hail-fellow-well-met "*sidi*" (which leads eventually to insult and general difficulties). He was sympathetic: he could exchange jests with a fellâh to the delight of a crowd. But he was also a disciplinarian: known as one-who-intended-to-be-obeyed. And so he lost no dignity. In short, he was a good officer, liked by his men.

You will not find a single Kurnâwi or Kufti who has not a good memory of him. The Chinese yak's tail *nashâsha* that he used is always remembered. His dogs especially amused the men. The fellâh does not admire dogs. He regards them as a kind of vermin that is useful for the defence of property, if he regards them at all.



Edward Russell Ayrton.



But usually,—well, they are just *kidd*, that is all. They exist; let them exist; God made them. The Kurán forbids unkindness to them, as to all animals, but the European idea of the "friend of man" is quite unknown. The Englishman suffers somewhat in Muslim estimation by his familiarity with an unclean animal. But the Englishman's dog in Egypt is usually of British blood, even if this is thinned and deteriorated by birth and upbringing in alien Egypt. Ayrton's dogs were Egyptian, and that he should be friendly with *them*, with village dogs, was indeed peculiar and distinctly amusing. The Egyptian *kell beledi* is an unlovely creature, as devoid of manners as his masters; but Ayrton managed to educate from puppyhood two of the best-looking animals he could find into fair imitations of well-bred beasts, and they repaid him with an affection which must have been regarded as highly unorthodox by the other dogs of Thebes! He hardly succeeded in making them follow him in his walks abroad, for the Egyptian dog is as home-loving an animal as the British cat; but they were welcome companions in what must, after all, have often seemed a very solitary life amid the desert cliffs of Bibân el-Mulûk.

Ayrton was a great walker, but at Thebes rarely walked when necessary dignity as an employer of labour (*ṣāhib esh-shuḡl*) demanded that he should ride. This is a point sometimes forgotten by the excavator, who allows himself to be regarded as a *raḡil meskîn* (with much loss of prestige, naturally) if he refuses to waste, as he wrongly thinks, a few piastres on a doukey. On the desert, however, or in out of the way places, where no one sees that matters, it is a delight to walk in the pure air of Egypt. The fellāḥ will walk for miles and days. But only because he is poor, not for pleasure. That he leaves to the queer Englishman: it is his custom: God made him so, as he made him to like dogs.

If Ayrton had ever attained the dignity of a niche in *Who's who* (and we do not doubt that he would speedily have done so), one among his recreations would have been chronicled: fencing. He was fond of the foils, and was happy when he could get somebody to take them up with him. The stick-fencing or staff-play of the fellāḥin interested him a good deal.

And if death had not taken him when it did, we can be sure that, if he could have obtained leave, he would by this time have been at the Front. A better officer soldiers could hardly have had.

Ayrton was connected with the East from his earliest years. His father, William Scrope Ayrton, of the China Consular Service, was consul at Wenchow when "Ted" was born, on December 17, 1882, at Wuhu. His mother, Ellen Louisa, was second daughter of the Rev. Thomas McClatchie, Canon of the Hong-Kong and Shanghai cathedrals. The boy came back to England, and was sent to St Paul's School, where he did well. It will always be a matter for regret to his friends, as it was to himself, that Ayrton was not an University man. His later residence at Oxford when preparing for his work in Ceylon showed him what he had missed. However, it was not to be, and when schooling was over he returned to the East, though not so far east. In 1902 he first went to work with Prof. Petrie for the Fund at Abydos, and continued with him for two seasons. The semi-independent exploration with which he was entrusted at the Shûnet ez-Zebîb (published in *Abydos*, III) first showed what he could do, and he also worked near Gurob in Middle Egypt, on some subsidiary work, in collaboration with a most congenial companion, Mr W. L. S. Loat. We were

very glad when this effective combination could be used again later on. In 1904-5 Ayrton was transferred to the other work of the Fund, that of Naville and Hall at Deir el-Bahari, while Petrie was at work at Sinai. Though only at Deir el-Bahari for a single season, Ayrton made his mark there, and later on never lost the interest in it which his proximity at the Bibân el-Mulûk enabled him to keep up. His training under Petrie was of very great use in the excavation and recording of the graves that were met with, and in the volume *Deir el-Bahari, XIth Dynasty, 1*, he wrote the account of the fine tombs of the priestesses who were buried in Nebhepetra's temple. The sarcophagus of Kaut, which was found in one of them, is one of the chief treasures of the Cairo Museum. One of the finds that most interested Ayrton was that of the very interesting little model coffins that were discovered in these tombs, with waxen miniatures of the mummy inside, each duly inscribed with  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$  prayers for the dead priestess to whom it belonged. His drawing of two of these models is to be found on Plate xi of *Deir el-Bahari, XIth Dynasty, 1*. Altogether, he found these tombs of very great interest. It seems probable enough that, as he thought, the priestesses, who were all young, were all killed at one time to accompany the king to the next world. The appearance of one of the mummies entirely bore out his contention: it looked as if the woman had been strangled. This mummy is, I believe, at Cairo. That of the priestess Kemsit, who was always depicted as black in the frescoes of her tomb (*Deir el-Bahari, XIth Dynasty, III*, pll. i, ii), and on the fragments of her sarcophagus (*ibid.* 1, pll. xxii, xxiii), is in the British Museum. She certainly looks like a negress.

The actual sarcophagi of the priestesses, of which the small wooden coffins were intended to be counterparts, were raised under Ayrton's superintendence from the tombs (*Arch. Report, 1904-5, Fig. 10, p. 9*). He devised, too, the wooden shoots which we afterwards re-used to facilitate the removal of debris from the upper platform of the temple (*Deir el-Bahari, XIth Dynasty, III*, pl. xxxv, 1). His practical bent was of the greatest use. He had his ideas, and he carried them out excellently: as a coadjutor and companion, none could have been better.

Unluckily, he left us in 1905 to work for Mr Theodore Davis in the Bibân el-Mulûk. He bettered himself in the world, so far as pay went, no doubt. He had also very interesting work to do. Mr Davis and he found several more of the missing royal tombs; those of Siptah, Horemheb, Tutankhamen, and Queen Teie, in which last what is probably the body of Akhenaten was found. Ayrton published accounts of these discoveries in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1906 (xxviii), pp. 185-186; 1907 (xxix), pp. 85-86 and 277-281, with photographs of the Teie finds; and 1908 (xxx), pp. 116-117 (jewellery of Tausert).

He also assisted his chief in the preparation of the elaborate monographs (to which Sir Gaston Maspero has contributed such interesting essays on the lives of the monarchs concerned), which were produced at Mr Davis's cost for the *Service des Antiquités*. For the last volume, that on the tomb of Tutankhamen (Touatankhamânou), Ayrton had prepared a very elaborate report, which very regrettably does not appear in it, having to be omitted owing to want of space. Mr Davis, however, expressly wished Ayrton to produce it elsewhere, and it is to be hoped that it may be found among his papers, and be given to the world. We must not lose important material like this, if it can be avoided.



At Deir el-Bahri.



Headquarters: Tomb of Ramses IV.



Cicerone at Kurnah.



In 1908 the collaboration with Mr Davis was severed, and Ayrton returned to the Fund, being welcomed, naturally, with open arms. But his second work for us lasted but a single season, that of 1908-9, when he and Loat excavated important tombs of the Sixth Dynasty at Abydos (as yet unpublished), and the prehistoric cemetery at el-Mahasna. The Mahasna work was really an afterthought, and a most successful one; the results were extremely good, and their publication, owing to the unusual excellence of the collotype plates, was one of the best-looking books we have yet produced. The Mahasna camp was one of the most exposed and comfortless that can be imagined. The shelter of the house at Abydos had to be abandoned, and camp pitched in the midst of the flat desert, foursquare to all the winds that blow in Egypt. However, the diggers had to live on the spot, if the cemetery was to be rescued from the plunderers who had already attacked it, and the knowledge of its secrets preserved for science. Later on, with Prof. Naville, the first sod was turned of the new work at Unam el-Ga'ab, and the strange rows of pots found, which were at first taken for the borders of some kind of sacred road leading to the early royal tombs (*Arch. Report*, 1908-9, p. 1).

Again unluckily, Ayrton did not proceed with his collaboration with M. Naville as his assistant in this work. He was offered, and felt it his duty to accept, a nomination to the Archaeological Survey of India, which would mean his eventual succession to the directorship of archaeology in Ceylon, then held by Mr Bell. First of all, however, he had to reside for a year at Oxford, to study Indian languages. That test passed with great credit, he went to India in Oct. 1911 and for several months travelled there, studying archaeological sites. Then he passed on to Ceylon, where, after a period of collaboration with Mr Bell, he finally took over the direction of archaeology in the island. His work was primarily the exploration and conservation of the ruins of Anuradhapura. We knew that he was deeply interested in his charge, and that he would do his work well. He always looked forward to flying visits to Egypt in his periods of leave, and should he at any time have left Ceylon he would certainly have returned to his first love. But he was not fated to be seen in Egypt again. Death met him in Ceylon in the spring of the present year, at the early age of 31. Of the circumstances we know little except that he was drowned in a lagoon when on a shooting expedition with a companion. Both bodies were found.

So ended a most promising life. Characteristic of Ayrton's modesty was the fact that when he died nobody in Ceylon seemed to know anything much about his Egyptian record, except that he had worked with Prof. Petrie. He never blew his own trumpet. The first notice of his death published in England dated him merely from his arrival in India, as if he had been any ordinary competition-wallah.

However, the Egypt Exploration Fund knows better. As a matter of fact, not only had he shewn himself in Egypt to be a most competent excavator and archaeologist, but also, though he had not yet at the time of his death published any exclusively philological work, he had in his spare time carefully studied the hieroglyphs, and could read them well. And though the duty of studying Indian and Sinhalese languages called him away, yet he had no intention of dropping Egyptian.

One of his friends thinks that subscribers to the *Journal* will perhaps like to read this small appreciation of him. He was a man who inspired respect as well as liking.

H. H.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF 1913-14: CHRISTIAN EGYPT<sup>1</sup>

1. *Biblical*.—Two leaves of Sa'idic *Genesis* xl and xli are published<sup>2</sup> from the Cairo Museum by H. MUNITZ, of which xl, 10—19 and xli, 45—52 are new. The form **šššš** for **šššš** (thirty) is curious.

CRUM, reviewing<sup>3</sup> Schleifer's last collection of Sa'idic O.T. texts (v. last *Report*, 47), remarks that the Ezekiel fragments have some interest for purposes of textual criticism and proposes an emendation in Jeremiah xxx, 10.

Preparatory to the publication of the Morgan Sa' *Isaiah*, HERBELYNCK edits<sup>4</sup> from other fragmentary MSS those parts of the book which have not yet been printed: most are at Paris, some in the *Inst. franç. d'arch. orientale* at Cairo and the British Museum.

*Wisdom* xvii is translated<sup>5</sup> with notes from the Sa'idic text in Lagarde's *Aegyptiaca* by G. D. BUCKLE. The lacunae might be completed and some difficult points cleared up by the use of Thompson's text (v. *Report*, 1908-09, 54).

I should previously have noticed a review<sup>6</sup> of the British Museum Biblical Texts (v. *Report*, 1911-12, 56) by WESSLEY. An important series of corrections and notes are now supplied<sup>7</sup> by VON LEMM in No. 135 of his *Miscellen*.

A brief notice<sup>8</sup> by BOUSSSET of Horner's Sa'idic Gospels comments on the wonderfully complete result to which the editor has attained by collecting the small fragments of MSS in all the libraries of the civilised world.

The Vienna parchment MS of the Sa' Acts is published<sup>9</sup> at length by WESSLEY: it contains fragments of all chapters between ii and xxvi. Though not so early as the British Museum codex lately published by Budge (v. *Report*, 1911-12, 56) it is of some importance palaeographically and orthographically, as well as for the criticism of the text, and a very full introduction deals exhaustively with spelling, diacritical marks and punctuation.

The Fayumic fragments of the Acts previously published by Gassies (v. *Report*, 1909-10, 56) are re-edited<sup>10</sup> by LEROIT and CORPIETTES.

An account<sup>11</sup> of Heer's bilingual Græco-Coptic Gospel fragments (v. *Report*, 1911-12, 56) is given by S. COLOMBO, who pays especial attention to their bearing on the two endings

<sup>1</sup> For reasons too painfully familiar to all of us, I fear that my survey will be even more incomplete than usual this year. I owe some references to the kindness of Mr F. L. Griffith and Marcus Simaika Bey.

<sup>2</sup> *Annuaire du Service*, lvi, 187.

<sup>3</sup> *Musica*, lvi, 177.

<sup>4</sup> *Deutsche Lit. Zeit.* 12 Oct. 1912, 3579.

<sup>5</sup> *Thalysische Rundschau*, lvi, 107.

<sup>6</sup> *Musica*, lv, 49.

<sup>7</sup> *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. iii, 345.

<sup>8</sup> *Internat. Journ. of Apocrypha*, 39, 70.

<sup>9</sup> *Petrograd Acad. Bull.* 1914, 525.

<sup>10</sup> *Vienna Abud. Sitzungsber.* 172, 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Didaskalia* ii, 337.

of St Mark. I may also refer to a note<sup>1</sup> by PH. MEYER on the same subject and the Pierpont-Morgan *Kalameros*.

NAU gives a note<sup>2</sup> of the existing remains of an Egyptian polyglot (Ethiopic, Syriac, Bohairic, Arabic, Armenian) dating from or just before the 14th century. As well as the complete volumes at Milan (Acts and Epistles), and Rome (Psalter), there is a leaf containing John i, 31-45 in the British Museum.

The new volume<sup>3</sup> of Oxyrhynchus Papyri (on the title-page of which it is pleasant again to see the name of GRENPELL as well as that of HUNT) contains Greek fragments of *Leviticus* xvi, 33, 34 (1225), *Paulus* vii, 9-12; viii, 2, 3 (1226) "interesting as providing early attestation of one or two readings which have hitherto rested on inferior authority," *Matthew* xii, 25, 26, 31-33 (1227) containing "at least one unrecorded variant," *John* xv, 25-27, xvi, 21-31 (1228) "a good and interesting text," *James* i, 10-18 (1229), and *Revelation* v, 5-8, vi, 5-8 (1230), showing "so far as it goes, a tendency to agree with the text of the Codex Sinaiticus."

DEISSMANN has a few notes<sup>4</sup> on the Biblical passages in Hunt's publication of the Rylands papyri (c. *Report*, 1911-12, 57).

Both in a highly critical review<sup>5</sup> of von Soden's text and in a large and exhaustive work<sup>6</sup> on B and N, H. C. HOEKER puts forward his views with vigour as to the importance of the Egyptian versions in their influence on the Greek MSS.

2. *Apocryphal, Gnostic*.—GRÉHAUT generally praises<sup>7</sup> Haase's survey of the Gospel-Apocrypha in Oriental languages (c. *last Report*, 49), but remarks that great compression in description has occasionally led to obscurity. MOFFATT remarks<sup>8</sup> that the work is a sensible protest against some wild theories current, such as those of Conrady: and that we are still hampered by lack of critical editions of the texts. An article<sup>9</sup> by L. ST. A. WELLS gives a convenient survey of the whole literature for the English reader.

In no. 134 of his *Miscellen*, VON LEMM publishes<sup>10</sup> a longish fragment of a text that seems something between an apocryphal life of the Blessed Virgin and hymns connected with her and with the Passion. Smaller fragments of it occur among the Amherst-Morgan papyri published by Crum, and von Lemm is able with the help of his text to emend these and to restore their due order.

Vouaux's *Acts of Paul* (c. *last Report*, 51) is reviewed<sup>11</sup> by FLAMION, who accords it general praise, while differing from V. on one or two points, such as the question whether the author intended his work to be taken as a romance or as serious history. A favourable review<sup>12</sup> by P. DE LABRIOLLE dwells at some length on the supposed correspondence with Seneca. If we begin to find in the latter some faint traces of the atmosphere in which Christianity was soon to flourish, is it that Stoicism had possibly borrowed to some slight extent from Judaism?

<sup>1</sup> *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* xxxviii, 703.

<sup>2</sup> *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, x, London, 1914.

<sup>3</sup> *Jaeger, Theol. Stud.* xv, 307.

<sup>4</sup> *Rev. Gr. Christ.* xviii, 342.

<sup>5</sup> *Hastings' Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, xi, 346.

<sup>6</sup> *Petrograd Acad. Bull.* 1914, 402.

<sup>7</sup> *Bull. Soc. Ét. Égypt.* iii, 290.

*Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* ii.

<sup>8</sup> *Revue Biblique*, xi, 285.

<sup>9</sup> *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* xxxviii, 662.

<sup>10</sup> *Codex B and its allies*, London, 1914.

<sup>11</sup> *Rev. of Theology and Philosophy*, ix, 373.

<sup>12</sup> *Rev. Hist. Éccl.* xv, 316.

A second Greek Apocryphal *Apocalypse of John* is published<sup>1</sup> by NAU. It does not seem to be related to that in the British Museum *Coptic Apocrypha*.

In a long and most careful review<sup>2</sup> of the British Museum *Coptic Apocrypha* (v. last Report, 50) CRUM devotes most attention to the life of Pistentius, and is able to add a good deal to the understanding of the Coptic text by his use of the Arabic life in Paris MSS. He appends a valuable list of words, taken from the whole volume, of lexicographical interest, with comments and parallels. RAHLFS<sup>3</sup> would prefer the British Museum to issue all these texts in facsimile, like the *Gospel of Bartholomew*, and not to trouble about having them edited and translated as things at present stand. A review<sup>4</sup> by P. [PETERS] describes the contents of the volume, and shews (among other notes) that the influence of St Michael on the rising of the Nile and other indications in the *Mysteries of St John* do not necessarily make an Egyptian origin for the Apocryphon certain. MASPERO suggests<sup>5</sup> that some further parallels from ancient Egyptian Religion might have been quoted, and comments briefly on the difference between the Sa' and Boh. lives of Pistentius.

GRÉBAUT's publication of the Ethiopic *Qalamentos*, which has been published in instalments in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* (v. last Report, 50) now appears<sup>6</sup> in volume form.

A review<sup>7</sup> of de Faye's work on Gnosticism (v. last Report, 52) by BATIFFOL remarks on its importance as a reaction against Bousset's views, but sees Protestant bias in the general treatment of the subject. PUECH<sup>8</sup> is more favourable; and in the course of some general remarks states well the strong and weak points (the latter predominating) of gnosticism as compared with those of orthodoxy. He thinks that de Faye has made good use of his very difficult material.

Attention is called<sup>9</sup> by T. S. LEA to the mathematics (four-dimensional geometry) of the Bruce Papyrus. He observes that most of the numbers of the Gnostic series can be represented in the form  $(a^2 + b^2)$   $(a^2 - b^2)$ , and holds that the figures of the text may usually be explained by the geometrical constructions of such numbers.

In an analysis of the *Corpus* of Hermetic writings (the *Poimandres* and others) J. M. CREED thinks<sup>10</sup> that Egyptian origins have been somewhat over-estimated, and that some of them at any rate "are little more than popularized Greek metaphysics, coloured by astrology."

3. *Liturgical*.—Schermann's general work on Egyptian liturgies (v. last Report, 52) is reviewed<sup>11</sup> by HEER, who will not commit himself definitely to Schermann's three stages: (a) time of Clement, Origen, the Deir-Balyzeh fragments etc.; (b) 4th to 6th centuries, Syrian influence; (c) the formation of the liturgies as we now have them. A long review<sup>12</sup> by BOUSSET contains a rather elaborate suggestion as to the composition of the Egyptian Liturgy in early days.

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Biblique*, xl, 200.

<sup>2</sup> *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* xxxii, 231.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue Critique*, lvi, 272.

<sup>4</sup> *Revue Biblique*, x, 567.

<sup>5</sup> *A Plan for the study of the Bruce Gnostic Papyrus*, St Askill, 1914.

<sup>6</sup> *Journ. Theol. Stud.* ix, 512.

<sup>7</sup> *De Lit. Zeit.* xxxviii, 682.

<sup>8</sup> *ZDMG*, lxviii, 178.

<sup>9</sup> *Anal. Boll.* xliii, 261.

<sup>10</sup> *Le Qalamentos*, Paris, 1912.

<sup>11</sup> *Bull. d'anc. litt. chrét.* iii, 288.

<sup>12</sup> *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. iii, 343.

The second half<sup>1</sup> of the Cairo *Synaxarium* (v. last Report, 53, 69) is now to hand, completing the year, edited by the Hegoumenos PHILOTHEOS MACARIUS and the Priest MICHAEL MACARIUS. At the end of the second six months is a useful alphabetical index of all the saints commemorated.

The recensions of the *Synaxarium*, other than the Jacobite, have hitherto met with complete neglect. I. KRACHKOVSKY gives some account<sup>2</sup> of a Melchite version in a manuscript at the monastery of St Catharine on Mount Sinai, of which there are now photographs in the Academy's Asiatic Museum in Petrograd, paying especial attention to a preface, called the *Ἀπολογία Εὐαρίστον*, which seems regularly to occur with it. (The MS was written by a certain Nicholas at Damietta in A.D. 1095.) He most ingeniously suggests that *Evaristus* is a mistake for *Metaphrastes* (متفرستیس for هورستیس), and that the writer of the preface is none other than the famous Simeon Metaphrastes, a Byzantine hero naturally in honour among the Egyptian Melchites. He prints the (Arabic) *Ἀπολογία* with (Russian) translation.

A résumé of Guidi's study of the Ethiopic *Synaxarium* (v. Reports, 1910-11, 53 and 1911-12, 61) is given<sup>3</sup> by NAU.

The months of Nuhāsē and Pāgumēn (Ἰπταγόμηναι)=7 August-12 September complete<sup>4</sup> the first quarter of the Ethiopic *Synaxarium*: the text is due to I. GUIDI, the translation to S. GRÉBAUT. The last-named supplies a very full alphabetical index. A review<sup>5</sup> by P. F[ETTERS] makes a few suggestions as to some of the rather unfamiliar names in it.

The *Menologia* of the Coptic Church, now extant only in Arabic, are well worth a study as a supplement to the *Synaxarium*. NAU has printed a good text<sup>6</sup> resting on the collation of several MSS, and his general introduction, as well as his appendices (one a quite romantic story of the adventures of one of the MSS, Barberini 2), are of high interest. In a review<sup>7</sup>, S. GRÉBAUT is able to make use of his knowledge of the Ethiopic *Synaxaria* to clear up one or two doubtful names of saints. (GRÉBAUT also begins<sup>8</sup> the publication of a fragment of an Ethiopic *Menologion*: the present instalment contains the saints of the month of Maskaram.) A review<sup>9</sup> of Nau's work by EHRHARD compares the calendar with similar Constantinopolitan lists. P. F[ETTERS] makes two or three suggestions<sup>10</sup> towards the emendation of the text.

The first volume<sup>11</sup> of a large and handsome new *Theotokia*, printed for liturgical use by CLAUDIUS Bey LABIB, has arrived from Cairo. Its contents appear on a rapid inspection to differ little from his smaller edition of four years ago.

The Coptic Canticles are the subject of one chapter in MEARNS' general work<sup>12</sup> on the subject. At any rate in modern Coptic liturgiology the *Psalmodes* and the *Theotokia* are so closely connected—the titles are interchangeable—that the original disposition is difficult to unravel. Mearns keeps to the earlier series found in connexion with the Psalter.

<sup>1</sup> *Kitāb ḥaḥḍiq al-ʿamīn fi al-ḥikmah al-qaddīyah*, Cairo, Tawfiq Press, A.M. 1029.

<sup>2</sup> *Christianische Feste*, II, 389.

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. Or. Chr.* xviii, 328.

<sup>3</sup> *Patrol. Orientalis*, ix, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Anal. Boll.* xxxiii, 81.

<sup>4</sup> *Patrol. Orientalis*, x, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Rev. Or. Chr.* xviii, 333.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xix, 109.

<sup>5</sup> *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. iv, 155.

<sup>6</sup> *Anal. Boll.* xxxiii, 62.

<sup>7</sup> *Kitāb al-ḥikmah al-qaddīyah al-ḥikmah al-ḥikmah*, Cairo, A.M. 1027.

<sup>8</sup> *Canticles Eastern and Western*, Cambridge, 1914.

A handsome liturgical production is an edition<sup>1</sup> of the *ṭarāḥāt* (plural of *ṭarḥ*), in Coptic and Arabic, for Holy Week, the production of the Hegoumenos PHILOTHEOS MACARIUS and the Mu'allim MICHAEL GIBGIS. Each day and night of the week is (ordinarily) divided into five "hours" (1st, 3rd, 6th, 9th, 11th) with their appropriate recitations.

A few fragments from Bohairic Service-books, none of any great importance, in a Cambridge College Library, are described<sup>2</sup> by GASELEE.

CHÂINE publishes<sup>3</sup> the text, with translation, of the Ethiopic orders of confirmation, marriage, and extreme unction; while EHRINGER does the same<sup>4</sup> for the Anaphora of "James, the Lord's Brother" from Paris MS Aeth. 74.

The Leyden Greek-Arabic book of lessons or *Pericopae* (v. last Report, 53) is the subject of a longer investigation<sup>5</sup> by BAUMSTARK. He compares the lessons with those in the regular (e.g. Habashi's) tables, and thinks that it shews signs of being an early redaction with influence from Jerusalem. He hopes that more may be done by further comparison when the Pierpont-Morgan *Katameros* is published.

4. *Church Literature*.—A review<sup>6</sup> signed H. [R.] H[ALL], of the late P. D. Scott-Moncrieff's *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt* (v. last Report, 52) remarks that the most valuable part of the book is the array of archaeological evidence for Egyptian monasticism; the study of the literary evidence is less valuable. It also praises his acute and trenchant criticisms of Gayet's results. BURKITT makes some astronomical suggestions<sup>7</sup> in S.-M.'s account of the *Pistis Sophia*. WENDLAND supplies<sup>8</sup> a few useful bibliographical references: W. K. L. CLARKE characterizes<sup>9</sup> S.-M. as "a writer with a special gift for popularizing knowledge."

Zimmermann's account of the references to ancient Egyptian religion in pagan and patristic writers is reviewed by ROEDER<sup>10</sup> and WIEDEMANN<sup>11</sup>.

A general sketch<sup>12</sup> of the Alexandrian theological school by A. DIACONOF has been translated from Russian into Greek by G. Papamichael.

Bigg's well-known book on the Christian Platonists of Alexandria has now appeared in a new edition<sup>13</sup> with good indexes, and a few corrections by F. E. Brightman.

A. DE BOYSSON is inclined<sup>14</sup> to throw some doubt on the Harnack-Diobouniotis Commentary of Origen on the *Apocalypse* (v. Report, 1911-12, 62). "The work should be claimed for O. only with great caution and hesitation, and if it be the work of O. at all, *c'est un Origène simplifié, assagi, sans doute, mais affaibli et énévê*." I may here mention KOETSCHAU's edition<sup>15</sup> of Origen's *De Principiis*, and reviews of it by H. D[ELEHAYE]<sup>16</sup>, who comments on the difficulty of extracting the original from the highly falsified tradition of a translation, and by P. DE LARRIVOLLE<sup>17</sup>, who investigates with some care

<sup>1</sup> *Kuṭṭb ṭarāḥāt el-baḥḥah el-muqaddisah*, Cairo, A.M. 1630.

<sup>2</sup> *Supplement to the Catalogue of MSS. at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge*, 1914.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue de Théologie*, xvii, 249, 420; xviii, 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* iv, 39.

<sup>5</sup> *Journ. Eg. Arch.* i, 75.

<sup>6</sup> *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xvi, 137.

<sup>7</sup> *Sphinx*, xviii, 102.

<sup>8</sup> *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, Oxford, 1913.

<sup>9</sup> *Revue Biblique*, x, 555.

<sup>10</sup> *Anat. Boll.* xxiii, 70.

<sup>11</sup> *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. iv, 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* xxiii, 392.

<sup>13</sup> *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* xxxix, 72.

<sup>14</sup> *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. iv, 143.

<sup>15</sup> *Εκκλ. Φιλοσ.* xii, 193.

<sup>16</sup> *Origenes Werke*, v, Leipzig, 1913.

<sup>17</sup> *Revue Critique*, 2 May 1914, 337.

the sources successfully used by K. to produce his valuable resultant text. An investigation<sup>1</sup> into Origen's style by BORST deals chiefly with his homilies on *Jeremiah* and the Commentary on *St John*.

St Clement is the subject of two valuable studies by English writers. J. PATRICK prints<sup>2</sup> his Croall lectures, and R. B. TOLLINTON has produced an extensive and painstaking treatise<sup>3</sup>, which is particularly valuable as including an account of all the most important literature of the subject which has appeared in recent years. A stylistic point (St Clement's use of the optative) is investigated<sup>4</sup> by J. SCHAM, and his work is shortly noticed<sup>5</sup> by A. H[EISENBERG].

BARDY has written a life<sup>6</sup> of St Athanasius for general readers, and C. V[AN] D[E] V[ORST] praises<sup>7</sup> him for deriving his information from the Saint's own works, and not merely from biographies.

In LEIPOLDT's new volume<sup>8</sup> of Sinuthian texts there is much of the highest interest. The majority of the pieces are letters or sermons on the monastic life and its obligations: there follow a treatise which L. has called *De discrimine temporum*, to which one MS adds an Arabic version, here edited by I. Schaefer; the *Apocalypse of Shenoute*; and the *Testament of Shenoute*. He also adds a passage from a Paris MS about Shenoute and Abba Moses. Much of the contents of the volume is quite new; portions have been excerpted by Zoega, and some published by Amélineau. The editing appears to be uniformly excellent, and M. A. Guidi has again contributed an index of Greek words. Some ingenious emendations and completions of *lacunae* will be found<sup>9</sup> in No. 137 of VON LEMM's *Miscellen*.

A. GROHMANN completes<sup>10</sup> his edition of the various versions of the *Apocalypse* of Shenoute (v. last *Report*, 56) by the Arabic text (which is in the form of a Sermon by St Cyril) with translation, and a translation of the Coptic text in Leipoldt's volume mentioned above. Good indexes complete the whole publication, and a useful list of some Arabic ecclesiastical terms.

Chaîne's contention for a Greek original for the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (v. last *Report*, 58) is on the whole supported<sup>11</sup> by D. E. M. VISMARA, who however remarks that the arguments are mainly negative or at most cumulative—weak individually but more cogent when added together. In no. 140 of his *Miscellen* VON LEMM corrects<sup>12</sup> a mis-translation by Levy of a sentence in the *Apophthegmata* (Zoega 328).

A Bohairic homily on penitence, attributed without authority to St Cyril, is published<sup>13</sup> by CHAÎNE from the Vatican MS 59 ff 85—96; it dates from A.D. 918, and any Bohairic as early as this is worth printing, and the two miraculous stories, though known from other sources, are not without interest. AMÉLINEAU points out<sup>14</sup> that the publication is somewhat disfigured by misprints, and makes some corrections in translation. P. F[EETERS]

<sup>1</sup> *Beiträge zur sprachl.-stil. u. rhet. Würdigung des Origenes*. Freiburg, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> *Clement of Alexandria*, London (U), 1914.

<sup>3</sup> *Clement of Alexandria: a Study in Christian Liberalism*, London, 1914.

<sup>4</sup> *Der Optativgebrauch bei Klement v. Alexandria*, Paderborn, 1913.

<sup>5</sup> *Byz. Zeitschr.* xii, 563.

<sup>7</sup> *Anal. Boll.* xxiii, 342.

<sup>8</sup> *Petrograd Acad. Bull.* 1914, 534.

<sup>11</sup> *Dilaskalsion* ii, 521.

<sup>12</sup> *Mélanges de la Fac. Or. de Beyrouth*, vi, 493.

<sup>6</sup> *Saint Athanasius*, Paris, 1914.

<sup>9</sup> *Corp. Script. Christ. Or.* ii, v, 4, 1913.

<sup>10</sup> *ZDMG*, lxviii, 1.

<sup>13</sup> *Petrograd Acad. Bull.* 1914, 540.

<sup>14</sup> *Sphinx*, xviii, 87.

examines<sup>1</sup> the several appearances of the story of the cross that bled when wounded by the Jew. I have not yet seen what I am told is an elaborate monograph<sup>2</sup> on St Cyril by LAATSHENKO. P. COMNENUS treats<sup>3</sup> of the type or symbol of the scape-goat in St Cyril's writings.

Speaking last year of the "Memoirs" of Dioscorus (c. last *Report*, 57) VON LEMM mentioned a leaf among the Rainer MSS at Vienna. He now publishes<sup>4</sup> and translates this, with notes, after a copy sent him by Wessely.

Patristic quotations in an apologetical work of Timothy Aelurus, probably written after his exile to Gangra in 460, and now only extant in Armenian, are examined<sup>5</sup> by F. C. CONYBEARE. He shows that there is thus preserved a certain amount of patristic matter otherwise lost to us. One of these citations, from Dionysius of Alexandria, is compared<sup>6</sup> by NAT with a passage in the *Didascalia*, shewing that the latter was probably *alléguée comme un écrit apostolique par des évêques syriens du commencement du troisième siècle*.

The Sa'idie text of the first homily of Severus of Antioch after his consecration is now published<sup>7</sup> with translation by PORCHER (c. *Report*, 1906-07, 70) from Paris MS Copte 181<sup>a</sup>, ff. 68-73.

Referring to the Bohairic "letter from Severus of Antioch to the deaconess Anastasia" published by Chalme (c. last *Report*, 57) MERCATI points out<sup>8</sup> that it exists (in a modified form) in Greek in various *Catenae*. He thinks that only a part of it can be ascribed to Severus, and much of that is a plagiarism from St Gregory of Nyssa.

A. PÉRIER begins to publish<sup>9</sup> with translation the Arabic text (which appears to be derived from a Coptic original) of a letter of Pisentius, Bishop of Qoft, to the faithful of his diocese. It was presumably composed after the Saracen invasion of Egypt: but it professes to be a prophecy, not a history, of the coming of the Arabs.

L. CANTARELLI completes<sup>10</sup> his list of the Prefects of Egypt by the names, with an account of each, from the time of Theodosius I (A.D. 395) to the Saracen conquest. His remarks on those towards the end of the list, whose history is doubtful and controversial, are clear-headed and interesting. The relations between the Empire and Egypt under the Saracen dominion, as recorded by Arabic chroniclers, are the subject of a study<sup>11</sup> by E. W. BROOKS; particularly the invasion of Egypt by the Imperial fleet.

I should have mentioned last year Seybold's edition<sup>12</sup> of the *Patriarchal History* of Severus ibn el-Muqaffa', edited from the oldest known MS (A.D. 1266) in the Hamburg Library, and reviews by GRAP<sup>13</sup> and DUENSING<sup>14</sup>.

Among the historical MSS belonging to the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of the University of Beyrout CHEIKHO describes<sup>15</sup> several of Egyptian interest, such as MSS of the History

<sup>1</sup> *Anat. Boll.* xxiii, 343.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἑκκλ. Φόρος*, xii, 542.

<sup>3</sup> *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xv, 432.

<sup>4</sup> *Rev. Or. Chré.* xix, 69, 135.

<sup>5</sup> *Rev. Or. Chré.* xix, 79.

<sup>6</sup> *Byz. Zeitschr.* xiii, 381.

<sup>7</sup> *Alexandrinische Patriarchengeschichte* (Hamburg Library Publications iii), 1912.

<sup>8</sup> *Deutsche Lit. Zeit.* xxiv, 9691.

<sup>9</sup> *Mélanges de la Fac. Or. de Beyrouth*, vi, 213.

<sup>10</sup> *Se. Kirill archiepiskop Alexandrysky*, Kief, 1913.

<sup>11</sup> *Petrograd Acad. Bull.* 1914, 485.

<sup>12</sup> *Revue Biblique*, xi, 423.

<sup>13</sup> *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. iv, 59.

<sup>14</sup> *Memorie della R. Acad. dei Lincei*, Rome, v, xiv, 7a.

<sup>15</sup> *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* xxviii, 714.

of Eutychius, and continuations of it, of Agapius, of the Patriarchal History of Severus, and of other less important chronicles.

FRANÇON continues<sup>1</sup> his French translation of the Ethiopic *Didascalia*.

5. *History, Legends, etc.*—PAPADOPOULOS discusses<sup>2</sup> the extent to which Egyptian monasticism may have originally been more or less consciously founded on the model of the *edroxi* of the Serapeum at Memphis.

Mortification by means of a plunge into a cold bath was much less common among the Egyptian ascetics, L. GOUGAUD tells<sup>3</sup> us, than among their contemporaries in the West.

WILMAKT calls<sup>4</sup> attention to an early Latin translation of the Greek life of St Anthony, and publishes two chapters of it. He thinks it may have been made at Rome, very soon after the composition of the original (c. A.D. 365).

A very important contribution to the history of the Church of Egypt has appeared<sup>5</sup> in P. VAN CAUWENBERGH's survey<sup>6</sup> of Egyptian monasticism between 451 and 641. He deals first with the literary sources, from the works of Besa to the *Patriarchal History* of Severus of Ashmounain, and acutely discusses the amount of fact in the various intermediate lives and histories (e.g. Daniel of Scete, Pisentius, Samuel of Qalamoun). He then takes the monasteries in order, from the *Ennaton* outside Alexandria to the monks of the Thebaid, and gives the story of each in this flourishing period of Egyptian Christianity. Van C. has worked much at MS sources, Coptic and Arabic, and no future ecclesiastical historian of Egypt will be able to neglect the very copious material now made accessible in the course of this admirable survey.

Yet another volume<sup>7</sup> of British Museum Saïdic texts has appeared, edited by WALLIS BUDGE. It contains the Martyrdom of St Victor and the Eucumium of Celestinus upon him (of these we may hope to hear more from von Lomm); the lives of Eustathius Placidus and Theopiste, and of Apa Cyrus; the Encomium of Flavianus on Demetrius of Alexandria; two ascetic works by Apa Ephraim; the lives of John the Calybite and of Onuphrius; and a curious discourse on Abbaton, the Angel of death, by Timothy, Patriarch of Alexandria. Translations are provided and short introductions, but no attempt has been made to find the Greek or other originals where these exist. A review<sup>8</sup> by GASELEE, makes some corrections in the text from the facsimiles at the end of the volume, and suggests some changes in translation.

The cult of SS. Cyrus and John at Abukir (*cf. Report*, 1910-11, 68) is the subject of a general investigation<sup>9</sup> by WIEDEMANN. He thinks that the Story of Abu-Sir and Abu-Kir in the Arabian Nights (Burton, *Night* 930) may ultimately be traceable to a reminiscence of the legends of these saints.

R. MIEDERA, writing a general dissertation<sup>10</sup> on St Menas, has not seen Griffith's translation of the British Museum Nubian text. He prints the *Acts* of the Saint in

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Or. Chr.* xix, 183.

<sup>2</sup> *Εκκλ. Φάσμα*, iii, 450.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. Franc. lit. chr.* iv, 96.

<sup>4</sup> *Revue Bénédictine*, xxi, 161.

<sup>5</sup> *Étude sur les moines d'Égypte depuis Chalcédoine jusqu'à l'invasion Arabe*. Louvain Dissertation, Paris, 1914.

<sup>6</sup> *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1914.

<sup>7</sup> *Journ. Eg. Arch.* i, 209.

<sup>8</sup> *Sphinx*, xviii, 93.

<sup>9</sup> *De Heilige Menas*, Rotterdam, 1913.

the Greek and Latin versions, with *apparatus criticus*; the Coptic material, as he remarks, is very slight if we consider the great popularity of St Menas in Egypt. His treatment of Coptic *stelae* is not wholly successful: he interprets, for instance, *πρωεστες* as "Bewaker," connecting it with *poetic*, whereas it is nothing more than a rather corrupt form of *προεστως*. But the whole is a convenient summary of what we know of the cult of this Saint, especially in the light of Kaufmann's excavations. A review<sup>1</sup> by AMÉLINEAU makes suggestions as to a mythological origin for the cult, and comments on some of Miedema's Coptic. Miedema elsewhere<sup>2</sup> raises the question whether any connexion can be traced between the cult of St Menas and that of the Phrygian moon-god, Men.

Wensinck's texts on St Hilaria (v. last *Report*, 60) are reviewed<sup>3</sup> by P. P[ETTERS], who comments on the Egyptian forms of it (Arabic *Synaxarium* and Coptic fragments). He has some interesting remarks on the very doubtful pronunciation of the name of the author of the latter, Pambo.

Some passages in Rossi's *Life of St Aphu* are emended<sup>4</sup> by VON LEMM in no. 138 of his *Miscellen*.

NAT<sup>5</sup> now completes<sup>6</sup> his edition and translation of the Syriac version of the history of John *μυρολητος*. He thinks that Zacharias, the author of the present biography, wrote in Arabic (or even in Greek) but not in Coptic.

Among the manuscripts (mostly Christian Arabic) belonging to Father P. ASBATH (v. last *Report*, 61, where he was called P. A. Sbath) of Aleppo, are some<sup>7</sup> (48, 67, 73, 77, 82) containing lives of Egyptian saints. The same may be said of MS no. 38 of the Jacobite monastery of St Mark at Jerusalem, described<sup>8</sup> by GRAF; it contains 125 lives of saints, many Egyptian: it is written in Karahuni character, and was translated from Syriac into Arabic by a monk of Aleppo in 1732.

Texts in both dialects on the apocryphal meeting of Abraham and Melchisedec on Mt Tabar are edited<sup>9</sup> by GASELEE, who also prints a text of a Behairic hymn about a mysterious incident in which Shenoute smiles at an act of justice done by Constantine, fuller than the fragment previously known to Leipoldt. (He prints some corrections and *addenda* to his previous tract on the 24 Elders, to which some additional material from Paris MSS has been published<sup>10</sup> by DELAPORTE, who promises more. In a note<sup>11</sup> on the texts on the 24 Elders (v. *Report*, 1912-13, 68) P. P[ETTERS] rightly remarks that there is no certain authority for an implied statement that our present Arabic *Synaxarium* had a Coptic original.) A review<sup>12</sup> by F. N[AT] gives some further particulars of the origin of Melchisedec from Greek MSS at Paris: another<sup>13</sup>, signed C., makes some suggestions as to translation, preferring, for instance, to render *συνταρχωνος* by *concordia* rather than to take it, as G. has done, as the Coptic representative of *ἰσθονία*.

Among the Ethiopic *Miscellanea* published<sup>14</sup> by GRÉHAUT there are several which have an ultimate Egyptian origin; and the same may be said of the contents of the

<sup>1</sup> *Sphinx*, xviii, 91.

<sup>2</sup> *Anal. Boll.* xxviii, 72.

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. Or. Chré.* xix, 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. iii, 311.

<sup>5</sup> *Rev. Or. Chré.* xviii, 411; xix, 58.

<sup>6</sup> *Rev. Or. Chré.* xix, 222.

<sup>7</sup> *Rev. Or. Chré.* xviii, 277, 308, 317; xix, 93.

<sup>8</sup> *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, xlviii, 390.

<sup>9</sup> *Petrograd Acad. Bull.* 1914, 537.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* xviii, 241.

<sup>11</sup> *Papirya Coptica* II, iii, Cambridge, 1914.

<sup>12</sup> *Anal. Boll.* xxxiii, 230.

<sup>13</sup> *Boussieres*, xviii, 131.

Ethiopic manuscripts belonging to M. Delorme also being catalogued<sup>1</sup> by the same scholar. There is equally some such material in the catalogues of Ethiopic MSS in various collections (d'Abbadie, Zotenberg, Mondou-Vidalhet, and others, public and private, containing fewer MSS) published<sup>2</sup> by M. CHAIXE.

6. *Non-literary texts*.—LECLERCQ begins<sup>3</sup> a complete publication, with translation and very full bibliography for each text, of the Decian *libelli*.

Part of a find of Assuan papyri is now at the British Museum (the rest at Munich). A preliminary account<sup>4</sup> of the former is given by H. I. BELL: most belong to the second half of the 6th century. From them the relationship of a family living at Syene can be made out, and the names of a good number of clergy of the place. Of philological interest is the word *χρηρη* (written in Greek letters) = *ἐπιτοσίσιον*. As an appendix H. R. HALL publishes a Coptic account of articles deposited as security from the back of a Harmonthis papyrus.

The Crum-Steindorff *Jême* texts (v. *Report*, 1911-12, 68) are reviewed<sup>5</sup> by CARL SCHMIDT. He makes several corrections from those of the originals in the Berlin Museum, but admits that such small errors do not greatly detract from the value of a most important piece of work, and hopes that the second volume, with translation and critical introduction, may not be long delayed.

I should previously have pointed out that L. WENGER calls<sup>6</sup> attention to the change in the oath used in Egypt after the Saracen conquest. Previously it had been "by the health of the Emperor"—it then changes to "by the health of our lords that bear rule." H. I. BELL publishes<sup>7</sup> an intermediate form, probably of the year A.D. 644-5 (i.e. immediately after the conquest), "by the health of all government and power that rules us at all times, both here in Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere." This leaves a loophole for a possible restoration. In A.D. 647 we find *βασιλική σωτηρίαν* again, and Bell suggests that by that time the word *βασιλικός* may have been transferred to the person of the Caliph<sup>8</sup>.

Among a few Coptic papyri published<sup>9</sup> by W. HENGSTENBERG in a series of *Studien und Mitteilungen* from the stock of the bookseller Jacques Rosenthal, there are three fragmentary letters and three notes of accounts: but most important is a magical prayer in which a widow, after the usual invocation of Old and New Testament Saints, conjures a corpse to be the agent of her vengeance upon her enemy. H. sees in this a distinct pagan survival: the writer has no personal connexion with the dead man, but invokes him as being nearer God and so more effectual in carrying out her curse.

Part of a table of fractions, once belonging to a schoolboy named Phocammon David, is published<sup>10</sup> by Sir HERBERT THOMPSON. It forms a link between the mathematics of ancient Egypt and that of the modern Copt: all fractions are represented in terms of fractions whose numerator is unity.

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Or. Christ.* xix, 17, 174.

<sup>4</sup> *Gl. Rec. Or. Christ.* xix, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. Éanc. litt. Arch.* iv, 52, 126.

<sup>5</sup> *Klio*, xiii, 100.

<sup>3</sup> *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* xxxix, 331.

<sup>6</sup> *Zeitschr. d. Savigny-Stiftung*, xxxii, 361.

<sup>7</sup> *Egy. Zeitschr.* xlii, 232.

<sup>8</sup> An incidental remark by Bell corrects a statement in the last *Report*, 62. The will of Abraham, Bishop of Harmonthis, should be dated about the end of the 6th century—not in the middle of the 7th, or even, as some have stated, in the 8th.

<sup>9</sup> *Beiträge zur Forschung* i, iii, 92, Munich, 1914.

<sup>10</sup> *Ancient Egypt*, i, 51.

*Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* ii.

A somewhat belated review<sup>1</sup> by REHM of Lefebvre's volume of Greek Christian inscriptions criticises the manner in which they are published and has many suggestions to make both in reading and in interpretation.

Speaking of the Greek Christian inscriptions on Mount Sinai, F. M. ABEL mentions<sup>2</sup> that there are traces of Coptic names on the cairn at the top of Jebel Moussa, and he quotes a short Coptic inscription from the rocks of Wady Mokatteb.

The excavations by PEET and LOAT at Abydos produced two handsome stelae with inscriptions<sup>3</sup> (Plate XIII and p. 38 sqq.). Many of the saints invoked—both are epitaphs—are quite unidentified. So in M. A. MURRAY's publication<sup>4</sup> of the epitaph of Apa Telemō there seem to be two unknown places and an unidentified epithet  $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\upsilon$  of Apa Joseph.

A reviewer of the Toronto publication of ostraca mentions<sup>5</sup> that the name  $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\upsilon$  or  $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , which Sir H. Thompson has noted as curious, is found elsewhere: he also proposes two corrections in the reading of sums of money expressed in  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\iota\alpha$ .

7. *Philological*.—REVILLOUT's posthumous study of Coptic grammar (v. last *Report*, 62) is concluded<sup>6</sup>, for he had not progressed further than the alphabet. The most valuable feature of the present part is probably the equation of the crossed  $\xi$  of Achemimic with its equivalents in the other dialects. A short memoir<sup>7</sup> of Revillout by WESSELY adds a complete bibliography of his very numerous works, among which are many of interest to students of the language and literature of Christian Egypt.

Some notes<sup>8</sup> on Coptic grammar and orthography by AMÉLINEAU comprise sensible judgements on the matter of word-division; he quotes "awful examples" from the two extreme schools. Equally interesting are his investigations into the manner in which interrogations are followed by the verb  $\mu\epsilon$  ( $\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\mu\epsilon$ ) and into the imperfect and pluperfect followed by the auxiliary  $\mu\epsilon$ . But there are probably few who agree with him that the Coptic Biblical texts need re-publishing with much greater attention to grammatical niceties: with a competent *apparatus criticus*, such as that provided in Horner's editions, the grammarian can work out his own rules and form his own text.

In no. 136 of his *Miscellen* VON LEMM withdraws<sup>9</sup> a suggestion he had made in no. 39 (notes on the *Acts* of the Council of Ephesus) to emend  $\mu\alpha\ \bar{\alpha}\rho\omega\alpha$  into  $\mu\alpha\ \bar{\alpha}\rho\omega\alpha$ . He now shews that  $\mu\alpha\ \bar{\alpha}\rho\omega\alpha$  and kindred expressions are quite often used in accounts of voyages to mean the "shallows" near the shore. In no. 139 he doubts<sup>10</sup> if the word  $\rho\omega\epsilon\kappa$  in Peyron and Tattam be not a *vox nihili*. It occurs Zoega 501, and should perhaps be emended  $\rho\omega\epsilon\kappa$  and be the pronominal form, with the pronoun of the 2nd pers. sing. mass., of the verb [ $\rho\omega\epsilon$ ],  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}$ ,  $\rho\omega\epsilon$ , [ $\rho\omega\epsilon$ ].

Rahlfs' study of Greek words in Coptic dress (v. last *Report*, 63) is briefly analysed<sup>11</sup> by HENGSTENBERG.

In his edition of the Christian Nubian texts Griffith had casually mentioned that  $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\nu$  = *pagan* is not found in Coptic. GASELEE thinks<sup>12</sup> this too sweeping a statement, and gives some examples to prove his contention.

<sup>1</sup> *Byz. Zeitschrift*, xxii, 52b.

<sup>2</sup> *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, iii, London, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxxiii, 386.

<sup>4</sup> *Stud. sur Paléographie*, xiii, Leipzig, 1913.

<sup>5</sup> *Petrograd Acad. Bull.* 1914, 532.

<sup>6</sup> *Byz. Zeitschr.* xvi, 663.

<sup>7</sup> *Revue Biblique*, xi, 112.

<sup>8</sup> *Ancient Egypt*, i, 156.

<sup>9</sup> *Revue Egyptologique*, xiv, 133.

<sup>10</sup> *Sphinx*, xvii, 177; xviii, 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 539.

<sup>12</sup> *Journ. Eg. Arch.* i, 207.

In the course of a study<sup>1</sup> of the origin of the Glagolitic script (which he would derive for the most part from Latin cursive), WESSELY suggests that one or two letters (*sha* and *šiot*, probably not *cheri*) may have been borrowed from Coptic writing. In his paper he figures an alphabet of Coptic and Arabic equivalents, taken from the known Arabic texts in Coptic script, and two passages (already known) of Coptic written in Greek letters.

The Christian Nubian texts have finally appeared<sup>2</sup> under the editorship of GRIFFITH alone, though he pays the highest tribute to the work of SCHAEFER, whose notes he has fully utilized. His edition consists of all the texts in full, with translations (including the *graffiti*), a full sketch of the grammar of the language, and a complete index-vocabulary of every word occurring, with English or Greek equivalents. The whole is a triumph of decipherment and insight, and future discoveries are now provided with a sure ground-work for investigation. In a review<sup>3</sup> ZETTERSTEEN makes some suggestions as to individual words by comparing them with their derivatives in modern Nubian. TURAIER has a general article<sup>4</sup> on researches in Christian Nubian.

I regret that last year (*Report*, p. 64) I misrepresented SCHUCHARDT's remarks<sup>5</sup> as to the nomenclature of the various periods of Nubian. Contrary to what I have made him say, he would use the terms Meroitic, and then Early or Christian Nubian. There are thus at least three nomenclatures in use: for Griffith speaks of Ethiopian for the early time and keeps Meroitic in its usual place, while Garstang uses Meroitic (subdivided into periods) for all the Ethiopian cultures from Piankhi onwards.

SCHUCHARDT examines<sup>6</sup> at length and carefully the language of Hans Abel's story in the Fadija dialect (v. last *Report*, 64), shewing the widest knowledge of Nubian generally and of its various subdivisions.

G. W. MURRAY gives<sup>7</sup> in the Kenzi dialect a story of a fox who lost his tail.

8. *Art, Archaeology, Excavations*.—In a review<sup>8</sup> of Somers Clarke's work on the churches of Egypt and the Soudan (v. last *Report*, 66) R. W. SCHULTZ welcomes a most important study on a neglected subject, and hopes that his example may be widely followed, particularly in an exhaustive account of the churches of Cairo. He reproduces small photographs of the White and Red Monasteries.

At Bawit JEAN MASPERO has discovered<sup>9</sup> the remains of a fortified convent, which was also a famous place of pilgrimage, Apa Apollo. There are traces of 8th century Coptic paintings.

PEET and LOAT found the remains<sup>10</sup> of a Coptic burying-place at Abydos in the same spot as the cemeteries of more ancient times. Among the Coptic objects there found, they illustrate (Plate XIV) a leaden stone vase and a beautiful little bronze lamp surmounted by a bird.

At Wady Sarga, about fifteen miles south of Assiut, R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON found<sup>11</sup> a good number of Coptic ostraca, and frescoes of the Three Children, the Lord's Supper, various saints and some animals. The first of these is now in the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> *Studien zur Paläographie u. Papyrskunde*, xiii, Leipzig, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> *The Nubian texts of the Christian period*. Berlin Academy *Einschluss*, 1913.

<sup>3</sup> *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* xxix, 456.

<sup>4</sup> *Christianskye Vostok*, li, 92.

<sup>5</sup> *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.* xxvii, 166.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* xxvii, 455.

<sup>7</sup> *Mon.* 1912, No. 97.

<sup>8</sup> *Journ. Eg. Arch.* i, 301.

<sup>9</sup> *Rev. Hist. Ecclési.* xiv, 843.

<sup>10</sup> *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, lii, London, 1913.

<sup>11</sup> *Journ. Eg. Arch.* i, 187.

On the subject of the meaning of the square nimbus about the head of Apa Jeremias (*v. last Report*, 66), VON DOBSCHUTZ gives<sup>1</sup> an account of the present state of the controversy. He remarks with truth that to the Eastern Church, unlike the Western, a Saint is a Saint, whether living or dead: while we wait for canonization or at any rate for the Saint's decease before paying him hagiological honours.

C. M. KAUFMANN illustrates<sup>2</sup> lamps from the Fayoum with various symbols of the Resurrection, among them frogs and (curiously enough) human embryos. He also discusses whether the Amphora was ever regarded as a Christian symbol.

A fragment of a bowl is published<sup>3</sup> by WIEDEMANN, shewing a horseman about to transfix something (lost) with a spear. He says that it represents Horns, and goes on to argue that the monuments of Coptic art are derived from Greek and not from Egyptian originals: he discusses the Statues of Mother and Child (*cf. last Report*, 65) and of St Menas between his two camels. Probably both his identification and his argument should be received with caution.

The connexion between the figure sculptures of the Fatimite period and Coptic work in wood is mentioned<sup>4</sup> by HERZ Pasha.

Two Coptic censers are published<sup>5</sup> by H.R.H. JOHN GEORGE, Duke of Saxony. They shew Palestinian influence and are decorated with scenes from the life of the Saviour. Another is described<sup>6</sup> and reproduced by A. DE WAAL; it was brought by Kaufmann from Alexandria, and is now in the Campo Santo Museum at Rome. Two heads painted on wood in a kind of *tempera* are also published<sup>7</sup> by H.R.H. JOHN GEORGE. They come from Deir Abu Macarius, but their date seems very doubtful.

The British Museum has acquired<sup>8</sup> some 20 *stelae* from the monastery of St Jeremias at Saqqarah. Most are engraved with conventional ornaments (dolphins, wreaths, etc.), one or two bear Greek or Coptic inscriptions. It has also acquired a sandstone obelisk from Edfu, probably used as a Coptic sepulchral monument.

A most important series of reproductions in colours of Coptic stuffs has been begun<sup>9</sup> by E. HESSLING. Those which have appeared are extraordinarily successful, and give much the best material that has yet appeared for this neglected branch of archaeology and art. Some interesting general notes<sup>10</sup> on Coptic textiles by ISABELLA ERRERA are accompanied by small reproductions of some very fine specimens. A few Byzantine silks described<sup>11</sup> by W. R. LETHBRIDGE may well have a Coptic origin.

The influence of Christian Nubia is found in the art, architecture, and even the traditions of Nigeria; the evidence is given by L. FROBENIUS in his account<sup>12</sup> of the German expedition there in 1910-12.

In his most elaborate study of the archaeology and history of Eastern Libya ORIC BATES gives<sup>13</sup> some account of the early "conversion" of the tribes by Justinian and its persistence in some form until a comparatively late date.

<sup>1</sup> *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* xxxix, 141.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.* xxvi, 107.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschr. f. christl. Kunst*, xvi, 115.

<sup>4</sup> *Byz. Zeitschr.* xxi, 448.

<sup>5</sup> *Étoffes et tapisseries coptes*, Paris, 1914.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* xiv, 138, 185.

<sup>7</sup> *The Eastern Libya*, London, 1914.

<sup>8</sup> *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. iii, 390.

<sup>9</sup> *Orientalisches Archiv*, iii, 169.

<sup>10</sup> *Rom. Quartalschr.* xvii, 192.

<sup>11</sup> *British Museum Annual Return*, 1914, p. 73.

<sup>12</sup> *Burlington Magazine*, xiv, 4.

<sup>13</sup> *The Voice of Africa*, London, 1913.

9. *Miscellaneous*.—DELAPOINTE continues<sup>1</sup> (v. last *Report*, 67) his summary catalogue of the Paris Coptic MSS. His present instalment deals with the Sa'idic and Middle Egyptian fragments of St Matthew's Gospel. A review<sup>2</sup> of the previous portions dealing with the Bohairic MSS by CHAINE contains for the most part criticisms of his rendering of dates and transliteration of numbers.

Crum's publication of the Amherst-Morgan papyri (v. last *Report*, 47, 49, 52, 53, 57, 59) is shortly<sup>3</sup> reviewed by F. N[AU], and at length<sup>4</sup> by LEFORT; the latter is chiefly concerned with the various recensions of the lives of Pachomius, of which he proposes a *stemma* differing slightly from that of Crum. P. P[ETTERS] states<sup>5</sup> the case between them, and generally highly praises Crum's work, saying that in his treatment of the fragments, "il les a publiés et traduits comme il sait faire, et c'est tout dire."

A very full account of the contents of the Pierpont Morgan collection is given<sup>6</sup> by HYVERNAT, who also analyses the newer British Museum publications. His present article forms a supplement to the account of Coptic literature previously given in Vol. v, p. 329 of the *Catholic Encyclopædia*. The list of contents of the Morgan MSS is divided into (1) Bible; (2) Liturgy [what exactly is a Sa'idic Breviary?]; (3) Synaxarium, which is subdivided into Feasts of (a) our Lord, (b) the B. V. Mary, (c) Angels, (d) Apocalyptic Spirits, (e) Patriarchs and Prophets, (f) Saints of Gospels and Acts, (g) Martyrs, (h) Anchorites and Cenobites, (i) Bishops; (4) Homilies by St John Chrysostom, St Athanasius, St Cyril, John of Alexandria, and Shenoute. It is satisfactory to learn that the official detailed catalogue of them is now well advanced.

A sketch of the non-translated literature of Christian Egypt is attempted<sup>7</sup> by GASELER.

A general analysis and review<sup>8</sup>, by J. LINDER, of the contents of vol. x of the *Patrologia Orientalis* touches on several works that have been mentioned in this and previous *Reports*. In like manner MASPERO has a general survey<sup>9</sup> of von Lemm's Coptic publications of the last few years.

No. 8 in the palaeographical *Tabulae in usum scholarum*, produced by E. TISSERANT, contains<sup>10</sup> 15 reproductions of Vatican MSS: very few facsimiles from this collection (except Zoega's "classes") have been published, and the additional material for the neglected and difficult study of Coptic palaeography is indeed valuable. The early Bohairic writing on vellum (as e.g. Vat. copt. 63, dated A.D. 956) has hardly a parallel elsewhere. It is perhaps a pity that *Memphitic* should still be used in its old meaning of *Bohairic*: it has now a definitely Middle Egyptian meaning. A review<sup>11</sup> by NÂU remarks that we shall hardly get much further with Sa'idic palaeography until some more MSS are found with dated colophons.

A. J. BUTLER describes<sup>12</sup> how Babylon succeeded Alexandria as the capital of Egypt, and was then after the Saracen invasion thrown into the shade by Cairo.

A brief account of Christianity in Egypt, and of its present position, is given in a general work<sup>13</sup> on the country by E. CHAUTARD.

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xviii, 390.

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xviii, 446.

<sup>3</sup> *Anal. Boll.* xxxiii, 231.

<sup>4</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, London, xxxiii, 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Zeitschr. f. kuth. Theol.* xxxviii, 564.

<sup>6</sup> *Specimina codicum orientaliū*, Bonn, 1914.

<sup>7</sup> *Babylon of Egypt*, Oxford, 1914.

<sup>8</sup> *Mé. Fac. Or. de Beyrouth*, vi, v.

<sup>9</sup> *Muséon*, xiv, 223.

<sup>10</sup> *Catholic Encyclopædia*, Suppl. Vol., 27.

<sup>11</sup> *Revue Critique*, lxxvi, 403.

<sup>12</sup> *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xix, 110.

<sup>13</sup> *Au pays des Pyramides*, Paris, 1913.

In a miscellaneous volume<sup>1</sup>, of which the contents are described<sup>2</sup> by NAU, RENAUDIN deals with some points in the history of the Coptic Uniats and of various attempts towards uniting the Monophysites with the Roman See. He also gives a brief sketch of Coptic literature and of the liturgical Coptic MSS preserved at Paris. His work is written more from a controversial than a scientific point of view, but contains some details of later Coptic history not easily found elsewhere.

The account<sup>3</sup> of the history and present condition of the Coptic Church by ADRIAN FORTESCUE is probably the best in existence for those who are not specialists and requires a description of moderate length: the sketch of Nubian Christianity needs revision in the light of modern discoveries. I should previously have mentioned a sketch<sup>4</sup> of the Eastern Churches by K. LUEBECK—the treatment of Egypt is slight.

M. A. RUFFER has examined some Coptic bodies from Antinoë. They were Christians of the upper classes, buried between 400 and 500 A.D. He describes<sup>5</sup> the morbid conditions present in them, and notes particularly the universally bad state of the teeth, which must have caused their owners great misery. One man was certainly uncircumcised—he is not sure about the rest.

A work<sup>6</sup> on the present state of the Coptic Church, by Farid Effendi Kâmel, one of the staff of the El-Watan newspaper, criticises severely its organization and fears that unless sweeping reforms are introduced, it will be swallowed up by Islam on the one side and by different Christian denominations on the other. This is not the place for an examination of his views: but it may be stated that if all his reforms were carried out, the Copts would lose some of their most valuable links with antiquity. His plea for a learned clergy will meet with everyone's sympathy.

In the late summer of 1913 the Copts decided on some important changes in the education and status of their priests<sup>7</sup>. The seminary course is henceforward to be for five years, and Hebrew and Greek are to be compulsory: the priests' stipends and houses are also to be very greatly improved.

The famous Melchite Patriarch Cyril Lucar has often been under suspicion in the eyes of the Orthodox for his supposed Protestantizing tendencies. A sketch of his life, distinctly favourable to him, is given<sup>8</sup> by I. BELANIDIOTES: a letter addressed to him is printed<sup>9</sup> by PAPADOPOULOS.

D. CALLIMACHUS sketches<sup>10</sup> the history of the Hellenic (= Melchite) schools in Cairo.

P.S. I should have mentioned last year JUNKER's report<sup>11</sup> on his expedition with Schäfer to Nubia in November and December 1911. The flooding of the valley as far as Korosko threatened to depopulate the whole of the Kenzi country, and the inhabitants, migrating some to Egypt and some to Dongola, would lose their customs and language. J. and S. spent two or three days in each of the 17 districts collecting place-names, songs, genealogies, and especially any possible traces of Christianity, and also employed the camera with good effect.

S. GASELEE.

<sup>1</sup> *Questions religieuses orientales*, Paris, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xviii, 444.

<sup>3</sup> *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, London, 1913.

<sup>4</sup> *Die christl. Kirchen des Orients (Sammlung Köstl.)*, Kempten and Munich, 1911.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal of Pathology*, xviii, 149.

<sup>6</sup> *Ihya el-kutub al-qiblah*, Cairo, el-Mahit Press, A.D. 1912.

<sup>7</sup> *Échos d'Orient*, xvi, 550.

<sup>8</sup> *Ἑκκλ. Φάρος*, xii, 267.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* xiii, 70.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* xii, 280.

<sup>11</sup> *Vienna Akad. Sitzungsab.* 101 (1912).

## NOTES AND NEWS

The first volume of the *Cemeteries of Abydos* series of memoirs has now been published. The delay in its appearance was due to several unavoidable causes, but now our subscribers have all three volumes of the series, and the arrears in the production of the memoirs have been made up. The volume is by Professor Naville, Mr Peet, and Mr Hall, with a chapter by Miss Kathleen Haddon. Its subject is mainly the results of the diggings of 1909-10 in the Mixed Cemetery (E), where interesting problems cropped up as to the time-relationship of the primitive to the historical culture of Egypt, and at Umm el-Ga'ab, where M. Amélineau discovered, and Professor Petrie afterwards excavated, the tombs of the earliest kings. Mr Peet describes scientifically the results of the cemetery digging, and Professor Naville comments upon them. Professor Naville describes the general work at Umm el-Ga'ab, and Mr Hall contributes a short discussion of the pottery and other objects found there. Miss Haddon's chapter deals with the scientific results of her examination of the skeletons of dogs found in the canine hypogeum described in the second volume of the series, pp. 99 ff.

The photographic illustrations of the volume are reproduced in collotype, and some interesting pictures are shewn of the actual progress of the excavations and of the life of the excavators. Among the more remarkable antiquities illustrated may be instanced an earthenware imitation of the typical bronze kettle-pot and bowl of the early dynasties (Plate ii, Figs. 5, 8; Brit. Mus. 49329; see *Journal*, i, p. 114, n. 4); the fine sets of VIth Dynasty amulets now in the Brussels and British Museums (Plate ii, Figs. 6, 7; Plate vii); the crystal fragment of king Semti (Plates viii and xiv, 1), and a remarkable chert instrument (Plate xiv, 2), the use of which it is difficult to divine. Though the work at Umm el-Ga'ab was not very productive, it finally settled, at any rate, the question whether anything more was to be found in the region of the early royal tombs, as not only was some of the former work re-examined, but a previously untouched portion of the mounds was cleared, revealing nothing more.

The following members of our Committee and excavating staff at Abydos are now on active service in connexion with the war:

Sir F. G. KENTON, K.C.B.

Captain, Inns of Court Officers' Training Corps, now in camp at Berkhamstead, Herts; attached to Advanced Base of British Expeditionary Force in France as Censor from August 5 to September 14, 1914.

Captain H. G. LYONS, R.E., F.R.S.

Called up for duty with the Royal Engineers as being in the reserve of Officers, and now stationed at Brompton Barracks, Chatham.

Mr. G. MAESDEN GIBSON.

Lieutenant in the Mechanical Transport Section of the Army Service Corps; now doing duty at headquarters, Grove Park Barracks, Lee, S.E.

Mr. JAMES DIXON.

Lieutenant in the Border Regiment; in camp at Belton Park, Grantham.

Professor THOMAS WHITTEMORE is engaged in ambulance duty with the Army Medical Service, and has already done useful work in France.

Others are employed in various ways, of which an account will be given at a later opportunity.

The following lectures have been, or will be, delivered in London during 1914-15 under the Fund's auspices:

1914. Nov. 20. T. ERIC PEET, B.A. "The Art of Predynastic Egypt."

Dec. 8. D. G. HOGARTH, M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A. "Alexander in Egypt and some consequences."

1915. Jan. 12. A. M. BLACKMAN, M.A. "Ancient Egyptian Literature."

In the Royal Society's Rooms, Burlington House, W.

February. H. R. HALL, M.A., F.S.A. "The work of the Fund in Egypt during the last twenty years."

March. L. W. KING, Litt.D. "Burial customs in Mesopotamia and Egypt: a comparison suggested by some recent discoveries."

April. A. E. P. WEIGALL. "Discoveries of the Royal Tombs in the Valley of the Kings."

Lectures for May and June are being arranged and will be announced later.

We desire to draw the attention of our readers to an article in the present number of the *Journal* by an Egyptian scholar, Dr G. P. G. Sobhy, on the pronunciation of Coptic in the Church of Egypt.

It appears appropriately in this number in which we record the declaration of a British Protectorate over Egypt, and the accession to the throne of the Sultanate of H.H. Hussein Kamel Pasha, the eldest male agnate of the house of Muhammad 'Ali, and, therefore, the rightful ruler of Egypt according to the law of Islam. Egypt now takes her proper place among the nations, and throws off even the nominal yoke which was placed upon her by the Turkish Sultan and illegitimate Khalif Selim in 1517. That Sultan Hussein may shortly succeed to the Khalifate of the Faithful, which could rightfully be held by the Sultan of Egypt, is the cordial wish of all.

The recently announced appointment of Dr Mahaffy to the Provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, vacated by the death of Dr Traill, is appropriately commemorated in this number of the *Journal*, in which, by a happy coincidence, his name appears for the first time—we hope by no means the last—as a contributor. The new Provost is a man of many interests and varied accomplishments; Philosophy, Literature, History ancient and modern, Music, have claimed him in turn, and to good purpose. But in these pages it will be natural to emphasize his services to Egyptology. Egypt was prominent in one of his earliest books, the *Prolegomena to Ancient History* (1871), which included an essay on the decipherment of the Hieroglyphics and a comprehensive survey of early Egyptian literature. It is, however, with the Ptolemaic age that Dr Mahaffy's name is especially associated. A chapter or two had been devoted to the earlier rulers of the dynasty in *Greek Life and Thought*; and a few years after the appearance of this, Petrie's find of the Gurob cartonnages, which were handed over to Mahaffy for publication, served to focus his attention on an epoch which has not since ceased to retain his interest. The first volume of the *Petrie Papyri* was brought out in 1891, the year which also saw the publication of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* and inaugurated the great period of discovery which is still in progress. Vol. II followed two years later; the third and final Part was produced in conjunction with Prof. Smyly in 1905; and the Revenue Papyrus, in the publication of which Dr Mahaffy collaborated with Dr Grenfell, appeared in the interval in 1896. Besides these monumental editions of original documents he has given us two general histories of the period, the *Empire of the Ptolemies* (1895) and the more concise *Ptolemaic Dynasty* (1899), which are, and seem likely for the present to remain, the English text-books to the subject. Our congratulations are due both to the Provost himself on his appointment and to Trinity College on having a scholar of such distinction to preside over it.

A. S. H.

Mr Arthur C. Mace contributes to the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for October 1914, an account of the Museum's Egyptian excavation during the season of 1913-14. The first work undertaken, in continuation of that of former years, was at the northern pyramid of Lisht, the area to the south-eastward of it being now explored.

In approaching the pyramid from the direction of the cultivation a considerable portion of the ancient pyramid-town was uncovered. This was founded in the time of the Twelfth Dynasty: the pyramid being that of Amenemhet I. It continued to be occupied as late as the Twenty-second Dynasty. \*The houses, of crude brick, the walls of which varied from a single brick to about two metres in height, must for the most part have been simple one-story buildings, though two had the remains of staircases, leading either to an upper story, or to the roof. The streets were narrow and irregular, mere passage-ways between the houses, and the town, when lived in, must have presented very much the same appearance as a modern village, built, as they so often are, upon the slopes of a mound...Beneath the house walls, and in some cases only to be got at by destroying the walls themselves, were the Twelfth Dynasty burial-pits. Many of these pits must have been covered originally by more or less elaborate superstructures, but these had for the most part either disappeared altogether

or been denuded to the bare foundations, a contributory cause to their destruction being the fact that the majority of the house walls were built of earlier bricks re-used. One important mastaba-tomb, however, was found, which presented some curious features of construction."

Mr Mace describes these features at length and gives plans of this remarkable tomb. The excavation of it, though very interesting, was unlucky in one respect. It was found that it had been penetrated by subsoil-water, and when, after many weeks of pumping, this was exhausted, the tomb proved to be unfinished: it had never been completed or occupied. Other Twelfth Dynasty burials yielded interesting objects which are figured in the Report—such as a standard gold-weight of porphyry with the name of Senusert I, an ivory magical wand (of the kind that the princesses held when they danced in honour of Sinuhe's return), the fine gold ring with green jasper scarab-signet of the official, Ameni, and his stone ushabti-figure. "This ushabti," Mr Mace says, "and a second found elsewhere, were both inscribed with what must be the earliest instances known of regular ushabti formulae, for Twelfth Dynasty examples as a rule bear nothing but the name and titles of the owner. One of them is particularly interesting, for it begins with the regular funerary invocations, and breaks off from it into the ushabti formula."

We regret to record the death of Mr Gardiner Martin Lane, President of the Trustees of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which occurred on October 3 last. Mr Lane was a man of wide sympathies and one wholly inspired with the desire of placing his wealth and his personal service at the disposal of the cause of civilization and art. His loss will be greatly felt in Boston, and we can assure our friends there of our entire sympathy.

Miss W. M. Crompton notes that there is a considerable collection in the Manchester Museum of the segmented blue faience beads described in *J. E. A.* i., pp. 18, 19, as having been found in Britain. Those at Manchester are from Tell el-Amarna, from the foundation-deposits of Tausret at Thebes (Petrie, *Six Temples*, p. 15), and from a deposit of Siptah. These dates carry the type well on into the XIXth Dynasty.

One of the most certain consequences of war is to advance the price of food, more especially, owing to the usual destruction of harvests, that of cereals employed for making of bread. Such a result is already being felt in Egypt, and it is of interest to consider what precautions in such a matter were taken in antiquity. In Egypt, because of the marvellous preservation therein of her ancient papyrus manuscripts, most valuable and apt evidence upon this to-day burning question is available to the student.

The papyrus found at Oxyrhynchus, edited as number 908 of that collection, and two in the British Museum numbered 1222 and 1419 are the chief texts for the following remarks. The first of these concerns a personage named Sarapion, entitled a "Eutheniarch of Oxyrhynchus." This official was one of those whose office appears in Egypt for the first time in the second century A.D. They were the Superintendents of the food supply in the towns, as a Tebtunis papyrus explains, but their official rank is not quite clear; there seems to have been twelve of them at Oxyrhynchus who held office annually, six of them acting for alternate months.

The Sarapion papyrus is a document reciting an agreement he had made with several of his fellow Eutheniarchs, for two months to fit up each a bakery and provide animals to grind the corn for it and the necessary fodder for them. The chief duty of the Eutheniarch, as illustrated from an inscription found at Argos in Greece, was the providing of bread for the people at a reasonable price. But precisely similar officials all over the Roman Empire and even in ancient Greece existed under different titles. Thus Aristotle tells us that at Athens the Sitophylakes attended to the matter. Recently an inscription of the third century A.D. has been found at Sardis, calling a municipal councillor, or *gerousiarch*, therefore a respected citizen, a "municipal bread seller." That is to say, he was a vendor of bread at a price fixed by the City magnates, appointed thus with others because the ordinary bakers endeavoured at times to obtain extortionate prices.

The Latin titles for similar officials for regulating the cost of the necessities of life were "*pistor publicae annonae*"; these were practically the same as the "*artepolai politikoi*" of Sardis and like them and the Eutheniarchs in Egypt they regulated the price of bread.

By the time of Theodosius' Code, it is evident that the selling of bread, "*annona civica*," had become a valuable privilege; and so perhaps the fear of its revocation for overcharging may have tended to somewhat limit unjust augmentation of the commodity's price.

J. O.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

THE Annual General Meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund was held on Friday afternoon, November 10th, 1914, in the rooms of the Royal Society at Burlington House, the Reverend Professor A. H. Sayce, LL.D., in the chair.

Mr H. R. Hall, M.A., F.S.A., the Honorary Secretary, read the report of the Committee for the year 1914.

The re-organisation of the Society has been completed and is working well and smoothly. By the recognition of the distinction between members and subscribers, the number of members has increased during the year from 36 to 321.

Excavation work in Egypt during the winter of 1913-14 has been conspicuously successful. At Abydos Professor Naville, assisted by Mr G. A. Wainwright, Professor Thomas Whittemore and Mr G. M. Gibson brought to light the extraordinary building generally known as the *Osireion*.

This building, with its remarkable hall of colossal granite monoliths, the curious platform in the centre of the hall with its steps descending to a tank-like trough separating the platform from the pillared aisles of the building, its row of niches at the ends and either side, the strange and dim sanctuary-chamber at its further end, the cyclopean masonry of its walls, is one of the most interesting discoveries ever made in Egypt. Professor Naville thinks the building is the actual sacred pool of the mysteries of Osiris, mentioned by Strabo, and that it is as old as, if not older than, the Temple of the Sphinx. A full account of Professor Naville's work at this spot will be found in Volume I (pp. 2 and 159) of this *Journal*.

At Antinoë Mr J. de M. Johnson conducted an excavation for the Graeco-Roman branch of the Fund with very satisfactory results.

He found a large quantity of papyri, the most important being one containing several Myths of Theocritus. In the mounds in which he dug—the rubbish-heaps of early Antinoë—as well as the papyri, all kinds of household and personal belongings, chiefly dating from the fifth century, were discovered. These literary remains and other articles made the exhibition in July 1914 at Burlington House an exceedingly interesting one. Mr Johnson's very interesting description of his work can be read in Volume I, p. 168, of this *Journal*.

The Archaeological Survey has continued its work. Mr Blackman, from November to January last, finished tracing the reliefs and inscriptions in the XIIIth dynasty tomb-chapels at Meir and collected a large quantity of material which will be published shortly.

The publications of the Fund during the past year have been as follows:

<i>The Cemeteries of Abydos</i> , Part I,	
" " " "	Part II.
" " " "	Part III.
<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> , Part X.	

*The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* has completed its first year of publication, and is generally recognised as the most authoritative British and American periodical dealing with our subject and its near Eastern and Greek connexions.

The course of lectures in London has been well attended, and will be continued during the coming season, and it is hoped the exigencies of the war will permit of the lectures in the provinces being given as usual.

Excavations may be carried on this season by Professor Whittemore for the American Branch of the Fund, if the military position allows of them.

At the close of the formal business, a most instructive and interesting lecture upon *The Art of pre-dynastic Egypt* was delivered by Mr T. Eric Peet.



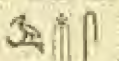
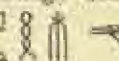
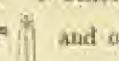
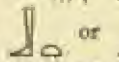
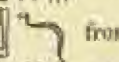
## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum.* Edited by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., Litt.D. pp. 24, 54 plates. London: British Museum. 25s.

For several years Dr Budge has been engaged in making known the monuments of the British Museum. Besides his excellent guide-books he published, first, various editions of funeral papyri, afterwards, Coptic texts of which there are now several volumes. Lately Dr Budge has turned to art, to painting first, and now to sculpture, and he shows us in this volume some of the treasures which are gathered in the great gallery of the Museum. 54 plates reproduce the chief monuments in chronological order, starting from a rather rough statue the name of which points to the early dynasties, and ending with one of the last Ptolemies.

We have there works of the different periods of Egyptian art, and we are enabled by the perusal of this book to form a general idea of what this art has been. We are particularly thankful to Dr Budge for having given us this collection in a volume the size of which is convenient for work, and at a much less costly price for students than the beautiful works of Bissing-Breckman, or the monuments of the Museum at Leyden. It is certain that it is not possible to make finer plates than those found in these two collections; but such works are for public libraries and are hardly within reach of most private students.

Dr Budge having arranged his book chronologically we have before us works of art which are representative of the principal moments of the history of Egypt.

We begin with the statue of . I have no hesitation in attributing to this interesting monument a date somewhat earlier than Dr Budge does. I believe it is of the II<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty.  is a name formed like    and others. The first syllable is the name of a god. We know the god  or  from various monuments<sup>1</sup>, especially from the great palette discovered by Mr Quibell at El Kab, where the King who has the same name assimilates himself to this god. There he is represented as an animal of the bovine family trampling under his feet fallen enemies. This animal is not a bull. A naturalist who has been in Central Africa identified it with the African buffalo, an animal very much dreaded by natives as well as by travellers. The top of the palette shows two heads of the buffalo erroneously called Hathor<sup>2</sup>.

If, from this beginning any one who is not an Egyptologist looks at the whole series which covers more than 3000 years he will be struck by the monotony of these monuments, the small number of the types and the uniformity in the postures. The reason of it is obvious, if we consider the real nature of art in Egypt. For the Egyptian, art is a language, the language of the eye. The purpose of the plastic representation is to express certain ideas chiefly religious, and when an adequate expression had been found to their ideas there was no reason to change it to look for something else.

In this respect there is a considerable difference between Egypt and Greece. Take an Egyptian artist, a painter or a sculptor. For him beauty is not the main purpose. He has some definite

<sup>1</sup> La plante de Horéit. *Annales du Musée*, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot revert here to the arguments which prove that the King generally called Narmer must be called Nar (7) bedju who appears on the list of Abydos and who is the first King of the II<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty.

ideas to express which he will constantly bear in mind. If he is a clever workman, if his technique is faultless his work will be beautiful, but this quality has not been his chief aim. It arose from the skill of his hand and not from an ideal conception of his mind!

Let us look for instance (Pl. II) at the group of the priest *Katep* and his wife *Hetepheres*. It is of the IVth Dynasty. Further down, more than a thousand years later, we find (Pl. XX) another group of the same nature the priest *Athi* and his wife *Hentur* and their son *Neferhabef*; later still two other groups; an official and his wife (Pl. XXXVIII) and *Mahu* and his wife *Tuat* (Pl. XXXIX). If we put together these four monuments, we shall be struck by their great similarity. The posture is nearly exactly the same; the imagination of the artist reveals itself perhaps in some details of the garments or of the hair, but the conception and the general appearance of the four monuments are nearly exactly the same.

The reason of it is this. The sculptors who carved these groups had no intention of making what we call a work of art. He could not let his fancy have full scope. He would not, like an artist of the present day, choose the posture which brought out most favourably the form of the body, the head-dress which agreed best with the features of the woman's face. All these artistic niceties are unknown to him. He has to obey a law prescribed by religion and not by beauty. This law is the base on which rests the conception of the Egyptians as to future life, and this idea is expressed by what we call imitative magic. The fact of representing a being in painting or in sculpture causes this being to exist in the other world. Therefore a group like these four is not a portrait to be kept in the family as a record of the likeness of father and mother or ancestor. It is for the tomb. It is the *Ka*, the double always called living which will continue to exist in the other world.

The statue being a kind of token of the existence of the *Ka*, it is quite sufficient that the *Ka* should be recognizable in the other world. Therefore the faces are probably good likenesses. There the artist shows his skill; but for the body, he is indifferent, and that may be more or less neglected. Generally the legs are of an inferior workmanship; this is particularly striking in the statue of *Katep* (Pl. II). Since the statue is intended to insure the existence of the deceased in the other world, the deceased is not old and decrepit. Except in a few cases he is always young and healthy. I believe that the position of the arm round the other's wrist indicates how strongly they are linked together, and *Katep* would probably say what we often find in funerary inscriptions that his wife was a "palm of loveliness."

In going over a collection like that which is contained in Dr Budge's book, we may make remarks of various kinds, and recognize the characteristic features of Egyptian art. We may also distinguish, what in spite of the apparent monotony of the monuments now comes out clearly, the different schools of art. Sir Gaston Maspero was the first to attribute the curious monuments of Amenophis IV, whose Egyptian name is inscribed in five or six different ways, to the local school of Hermopolis. The portrait mould of the King (Pl. XXVI) is a good specimen of its work.

Another school which is well represented at the British Museum is that of the XIIth Dynasty. It has produced many remarkable pieces, especially a great number of royal statues, and it is rightly called a Theban school. In the XIIth Dynasty are now included the monuments which Mariette when he first discovered them called Hyksos, one of the finest specimens of which is the colossal head found in my excavations on the site of Bubastis (Pl. XII). Most Egyptologists including the present writer followed at first Mariette's opinion. But some years ago, M. Golénischoff seems to have well established that those monuments belonged to the XIIth Dynasty. Therefore Dr Budge named the colossal head Amenemhet III. This identification is probably right, though quite lately M. Capart put these monuments much further back, before the IVth Dynasty.

I cannot dwell here on all that is interesting in some respect. I can only congratulate the British Museum for having specimens, some of them very remarkable, of all that sculpture has produced in Egypt during more than thirty centuries.

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

\* See my article *L'Art Égyptien*. Paris, 1908.

*Aegean Archaeology.* By H. R. HALL, M.A., F.S.A. pp. xi+270, 32 Plates, 112 Text Illustrations and a map. London: Lee Warner, 1915. 12s. 6d. net.

The Honorary Secretary of the Egypt Exploration Fund is too well known an authority, not only on Egyptology, but also on Aegean antiquities, to need any recommendation. The volume by him, which has appeared in Mr Lee Warner's series, is excellently adapted to instruct students of Egyptology, who desire something more recent than Dr Ronald Burrows' latest edition of *Discoveries in Crete* (1907), concerning the Mediterranean civilization contemporary and connected with the Egyptian during long ages. It is, indeed, the needs of just this class—special students of other civilizations which had relations with the Aegean—that Mr Hall's book will best serve. Restriction of space and illustrations limit its usefulness for Aegean specialists; and the compression necessary, if such rich and varied material is to be noticed within a volume of handy compass and moderate price, has precluded Mr Hall from catering for the mere general reader.

In this *Journal* it is appropriate to call attention to some of those points on which Aegean studies touch Egyptology. They are many, and their treatment by so competent an authority gives this book a special value which Dr Burrows' volume could not claim. One looks first to see if Mr Hall still adheres to interesting views of his, already put forward, and one finds that, e.g., he still brings the Philistines from "Greece" ("the legendary immigration of Philistines from Greece is no myth") and still postulates an Alashiyan culture in Cilicia. The present writer wishes to traverse neither of these views, but just to utter one word of warning about the first—that most of the excavation evidence from Gezer and other Philistian sites, which Mr Hall quotes, refers probably to rather too late a period to serve as a basis for his argument. Recent discoveries in northern Syria have tended to bring down the dating of Professor Macalister's "Philistine" burials by some two centuries, and with them, that of the late or sub-Mycenaean objects found in earlier graves. It is Cyprus of the sub-Mycenaean age, rather than Crete in the L. M. III period, which seems to have been responsible for the cultural relations with the west of which Philistine sites give evidence.

In regard to his Alashiyan theory, first stated in the *Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Journal* last year, Mr Hall's name for Cilicians may be right, and Mr Walnwright's, as contended, wrong, or *vice versa*; but what is becoming quite clear is this—that there was certainly a culture in the north-eastern angle of the Levant, partly in Cilicia, partly in Cyprus, partly perhaps in the Lower Orontes basin, which flourished in the last centuries of the second millennium, and has not yet been taken into due account by archaeologists. One gets quite enough evidence of it from the Hittite side to endorse Mr Hall's acute inference from the Aegean and Egyptian side. The name by which we are to call it—Alashiyan or Keftian or what not—is less important for the moment.

Other points worth notice are the following. Mr Hall believes that Egypt derived its first knowledge, and its early Dynastic store of copper from Cyprus, where copper had been used while the Nile Valley was still neolithic. It is certainly true, as he states, that no evidence for a purely neolithic age either in Cyprus or, for that matter, in the Aegean isles (except Crete) has yet come to light. But on the other hand, have any copper objects nearly so early as the earliest Egyptian come to light in Cyprus either? If not, the derivation of Egyptian copper from the latter must remain a conjecture. Is there no copper in the Red Sea range, or in the Sinaitic peninsula? There is, as a fact, some on Crete and on Gavdo Island. One cannot help feeling a little sceptical about this so early going to and fro on the Levant seas between Egypt and the isles. It is not a question of mere migration, such as may account, according to another conjecture of Mr Hall's, for the first bloom of the metal age in Crete; but of fairly frequent intercourse, if a constant supply of Aegean material for implements and weapons was to be forthcoming in the Nile Valley. Are the early obsidian flakes found in Egypt really Melian, as Mr Hall asserts (p. 49)? A last point in these early relations on which we feel ignorant, and therefore sceptical, is the derivation of Aegean glass from VI Dynasty Egypt (p. 51). Where has such early Aegean imitative glass been found?

Apart from Egyptian relations, Mr Hall illuminates many dark Aegean places; but we have not space to do more than refer readers to his *prolé* of the North Grecian evidence collected by Messrs Tsountas, Wace and Thompson: his doubts about Sir Arthur Evans' dating of the Eginetan Treasure; his appreciation of the relative merits of L. M. I relief work and that of Dyn. XVIII in Egypt; his quotation of Mr Fordeyke's views on Minyan and Trojan pottery; the convincing explanation of the genesis of the *pseud-amphora* given on p. 94; his theory of the Tursello vases; his accounts

of recent work at Tiryns and Argos; and his very just comparisons of Cretan periods in respect of artistic merit. We quite agree that M. M. III work, at its best, is the acme of Cretan production. Like everybody else he finds the mass of Aegean pottery and products of minor arts hard to popularize; but he is very readable on Buildings and on Paintings. The text still needs revision in minute details, such as accents. *Zakón*, which occurs often, should be *Zakoni* according to actual Egyptian usage which ignores the rule that a trisyllabic name ending in -*n* cannot be proparoxytone! The present writer has heard this name pronounced proparoxytonically scores of times. If he mistakes not, there are other Greek accents to be corrected on pp. 143, 157. But such things are trifles light as air!

D. G. HOGARTH.

*A Short History of the Egyptian People.* By E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. pp. ix+280. 14 illustrations and map. London: Dent and Sons, 1914. 3s. 6d. net.

*The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians.* By the same. pp. xiii+272. London: Dent and Sons, 1914. 3s. 6d. net.

Dr Wallis Budge's ceaseless activity is astonishing. Most scholars would find that they had quite enough to do in administering a great Museum department and editing Coptic and Syriac manuscripts; but in addition to this he finds time to publish books of a semi-popular nature on ancient Egypt and the Sudan. His two latest volumes are addressed to that ever-increasing public which wants to know something about the history and literary civilisation of the ancient Egyptians. They are admirably fitted for their purpose. Dr Budge has managed to compress an enormous mass of up-to-date information into them, without being dull or losing the interest of his readers. To do this satisfactorily in the case of early Egyptian history was especially difficult, and he may therefore be congratulated upon his success.

Dr Budge is not only a first-hand authority on the subject about which he writes; he is also blessed with a considerable modicum of common-sense. No subject has suffered more than ancient Egyptian history from the lack of the latter quality and the resultant theories which have emanated for the most part from Germany. His views on chronology, on the racial elements in the Egyptian population and on the relation of the neolithic people to the dynastic Egyptians are eminently sane and in accordance with the known facts. The impossible chronology of the Berlin School is brushed aside, and what we really know about the Hyksos period is stated in full. The history is brought down to the beginning of the Roman epoch, though the account of the Ptolemies is little more than a chronological register. The history of Greek Egypt does not properly come within the scope of Dr Budge's work.

The latter part of the book is occupied with an account of the Egyptian people themselves. The best chapter in it is that on the "Daily Life of the Egyptians," which indeed is the best résumé of the subject with which I am acquainted. There is one remark in it, however, with which I fail to agree. Dr Budge says that "it is almost certain that very few of the general public [in ancient Egypt] could either read or write." My experiences on the Nile, where there are few rocks and stones which I have not examined, lead me to exactly the reverse conclusion. From one end of the Egyptian valley to the other the rocks are covered with *graffiti*, fully half of which were not written by the learned classes, but by boatmen, artisans and the like who happened to be tied up to the shore by adverse winds. The smaller objects discovered in the tombs or on the sites of cities bear the same testimony. A large proportion of them is inscribed; even the little objects of the toilet-table carry inscriptions, and inscriptions are not written unless they are intended to be read.

A good "popular" book on the Literature of the Ancient Egyptians was a harder task than one on Egyptian history, but the task has been successfully accomplished. The book is clear, interesting, and wonderfully complete. All classes of Egyptian literature are passed in review, beginning with the curious texts which are inscribed in the pyramids of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, the half-understood phrases of which go back to a prehistoric antiquity. Then we have chapters on the Stories of the Magicians, which are something like those which delighted our own childhood on the Book of the Dead and similar works, on the theological legends, on the historical and biographical

documents, on accounts of voyages and travels, on fairy-tales, on hymns to the gods, on moral and philosophical treatises, and on poetical compositions, with a final chapter on "Miscellaneous Literature." The works passed in review are partly translated, partly described in outline. Little is omitted, but it is strange that among the omissions should be so interesting and well-known a work as "The Adventures of the Mohar" in Palestine. There is nothing which gives us a better insight than this remarkable production into the geographical conditions of Palestine in the age of the Exodus, or the hardships which a tourist was likely to experience. Among the Miscellaneous Literature are included the medical and mathematical papyri, one of which was written in the Hyksos period.

Both volumes are provided with very complete indices.

A. H. SAYCE.

*Studien zur ägyptischen Verwaltungsgeschichte in ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit. Der Baudirektor Propäutres.*

By ERHARD BIEDERMANN. pp. ix+123. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1913. 3 mark 60 pf.

This is a very useful collection of all the available evidence relating to the activities of the "royal scribe" under the Greek and Roman rulers of Egypt. The conclusion drawn by the author is briefly stated on p. 93, at the end of his second and main section: it is that the special duties of the "royal scribe" consisted in the compilation of the lists which served as the basis of assessment for taxes and of the general distribution of state burdens; these lists included the land survey, the census register of individuals, and the record of property in houses, slaves, and cattle. Upon these duties depended all the other functions which he is found performing, in conjunction with other officials, such as the assessment and collection of taxes, the supervision of monopolies, the direction of public works, the transport of corn, and the administration of land. His relationship to these other officials is treated briefly in the third section, which is not so conclusive as the second: but this is hardly the author's fault, as the evidence with regard to the relative positions of the numerous minor Ptolemæic and Roman officials is not only scanty but usually incoherent: it seems probable that the powers of any given officer were not strictly defined, but might be extended or limited to suit the circumstances of the moment. The discovery of new material may throw further light on some of the problems; but so far as the documents at present available carry us, there is practically nothing left unnoticed by Dr Biedermann.

J. G. MILNE.

*The Samson-Saga and its place in Comparative Religion.* By A. SMYTHE PALMER, D.D. London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1913. 5s. net.

In this book Dr Smythe Palmer has written an elaborate treatise on the solar elements which may underlie the Hebrew legend of Samson; and we have no doubt it will prove very instructive to the readers the author has in view, to some of whom, he anticipates, it will come as a shock "to be told that the Hebrews, like every other people, had a childhood which they outgrew, a period in their early history when they delighted in stories of adventure, abounding in exploits of supernatural prowess, from which even a coarse mimic element was not excluded." The book is written in a more popular and in a far more attractive style than the late Dr Robert Brown's treatises on astronomy and comparative religion. It draws its inspiration, in fact, not so much from independent research into a possible astronomical background to some mythologies, but rather from the influence of the astral theory of religion, as elaborated by that brilliant orientalist Hugo Winckler and by the rather less brilliant school he founded. Dr Palmer could not have selected a stronger peg on which to hang his web of solar analogies, for there can be no doubt that Samson, an account of whose exploits happens to have been included in an old Hebrew Book of Heroes, betrays the insignia of a local solar deity, and in this aspect may be treated as the Hebrew counterpart of the Phœnician Melkarth and the Babylonian Gilgamesh. But chance resemblance, whether in sight or sound, seems to have a compelling fascination for the comparative mythologist, who is out hunting for supports to a theory; and, if he is a wise mythologist, he will check his natural impulse to identify at the first glance by means of stringent linguistic study. It seems to us that a defect in Dr Palmer's work, which

detracts in a minor degree from its value, is that he sometimes fails to apply this test, and is consequently rather prone to hazardous conjecture. Under such a heading we should be inclined to include the derivation of *Erebe* from Assy. *eribu*, "to enter" (p. 88) or *Deilab* from Heb. *laylāh*, "night," and Sumerian *il*, a night-demon. *Irkalta* is correctly derived from the Sumer. *Urugal* (p. 240), but it certainly had not the meaning "the great eater," and, as neither had any solar connotation, there are no real grounds for connecting the name *Hercules* with them. It is quite true that the god *Bes* was a foreign importation into the Egyptian pantheon; but it is hardly probable that he was a solar deity and there is little to justify equating his feather-crown with Samson's locks and solar rays. The same anxiety to make his point (which is also characteristic of the German astral school) seems to have led the author into such false Hebrew etymology as the suggested derivation from the same root of Hebr. *shachar*, "dawn," and *ś'ār*, "hair" (p. 39), or *shāmēr*, "he-ass," from a root *shamāh*, "to be hot" (pp. 123 f., 125). But a great part of the book is taken up with general rather than linguistic parallels; and viewed as a popular study in comparative mythology, its author's aim at interesting his readers in the Hebrew records, when treated in a spirit of critical investigation, will no doubt be fully achieved.

L. W. KING.

*Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*: 1913-14. pp. viii+102. Manchester: At the University Press, 1914.

We welcome the punctual appearance of the second volume of this journal, the record and product of the combined Egyptian and Oriental Societies of Manchester, each of which, before their amalgamation, carried on its work in isolation and consequently appealed to a more restricted circle. From the present volume it is clear that the new Society continues to cast its net wide, and to cater successfully for the varied interests of its members. The special papers open with an appreciative notice by Prof. Peake of the work of the late Prof. Driver, in which we are glad to see emphasis is laid on the debt the younger generation of Hebrew scholars owe to his help and to the labour he was always ready to lavish on their work. The original contributions also include two papers on Zoroastrianism: one, a review of Prof. Moulton's "Hibbert Lectures" by Bishop Casartelli; the other a collection of survivals of religious material, drawn from Zoroastrian and kindred sources, which may be detected in the *Acta Sanctorum*, particularly in the Syriac and Armenian recensions. The latter paper, by Dr. Louis H. Gray, is of considerable interest. Mr A. C. Dickie writes on the Jews as builders, Canon Johns on some Babylonian tablets in the Manchester Museum, Dr W. H. Bennett on Pentateuchal Criticism, and the editor of the Journal, Professor Camney, contributes notes on Hebrew philology. The Oriental side of the society's work is in no danger of being swamped by the interests of its new partner.

Among the Egyptological papers, with which we are here more concerned, is one by Mr Milne on a Greek ostracoi of the first or second century A.D., found by Prof. Garstang in the "fish cemetery" at Ezech and now in the Manchester Museum. The writer was evidently an almost illiterate person and Mr Milne is to be congratulated on the ingenuity with which he has made out its contents. The text contains a complaint by the owner of a private shrine that he had been locked out by the wife and daughter of his overseer, in spite of his kind treatment of them. The name of the god to whom it was dedicated is not mentioned. But Mr Milne points out that such privately owned shrines were not uncommon in Egyptian villages of the Graeco-Roman period, though the income derived from the offerings of worshippers does not seem to have made them very valuable properties: he works out the annual value of a one-sixth share of such a shrine at only fifty days' wages of a labourer. We may compare the rather higher values which privately owned temple-revenues appear to have enjoyed in Babylonia a few centuries earlier. We possess a number of assignments of such rights to the offerings of the faithful, dated in the second and third centuries A.D.; and it would appear that the right to take the offerings, even for an hour or two during one day of each month, was eagerly sought after. In India, too, at the present day, temple-offerings are sometimes controlled by private families, who in rotation divide the proceeds among themselves and make a considerable profit out of them.

In a note on the persistence of ancient Egyptian burial customs in Nigeria Prof. Elliot Smith calls attention to an article contributed to the "Journal of the African Society" by Mr P. Amaury Talbot, a District Commissioner in the Nigerian Political Service. Mr Talbot, who had occasion to visit two South Nigerian tribes living near the Gulf of Guinea, found that their burial rites present resemblances to those of ancient Egypt. The practice of embalming their dead would, in itself, not suggest survival; but a more striking parallel is presented by their grave-construction. They dig a pit, and from the bottom of this an underground passage, sometimes thirty feet long, leads to a square chamber where the body is laid; stones and earth are afterwards piled over the pit's mouth. One of the tribes, the Ibibios, also build near their town arbour-like erections as houses for the dead man's double, with figures of his favourite wives and slaves—the counterparts, Mr Talbot suggests, of the *ushabtis*. Even if we should be inclined to suspend judgment on the theory of direct Egyptian descent, the parallelisms are well worth noting. For in any case they illustrate the working of the African mind, and support the views of those who emphasize the African elements in ancient Egyptian culture.

From this short notice it will be seen that the volume fully maintains the interest of its predecessor, and shows that Egyptological study continues to be well represented at Manchester. Of the eight lectures given during the year five fall under this category, including one by Prof. Petrie on scarabs, and others by Dr Alan Gardiner on Hieroglyphic writing, and by Mr Pest on Sinai. Miss Crompton's description of the Egyptian collection in the Manchester Museum, which follows the annual report, tempts one to hope that she may later on publish a *catalogue raisonné* of the objects, to the arrangement and labelling of which she has devoted so much time and care.

L. W. KING.

*L'Égypte monumentale et pittoresque.* By CAMILLE LAGIER. pp. 240, 48 plates. Brussels and Paris: Vromant et Cie. 1914.

Of books descriptive of Egypt and its marvels there is an abundance, yet the number of such volumes worthy to be read twice, or to be given a permanent home on one's bookshelves, is small, but among this number *L'Égypte monumentale et pittoresque* should find a place. Its author is not unknown as an Egyptologist. The articles he has written for the well-known *French Dictionary of the Bible* of Vigouroux show that he is familiar with the literature of Egyptian archaeology, and that he can write luminously about the many obscure problems of ancient Egyptian history.

Those who have already visited Egypt will be glad to revive the memories of their wanderings in that wonderland by reading in this book the impressions made upon the author during his residence and travels there. The fortunate people who have not yet journeyed to Egypt—fortunate, because much of the pleasure of life lies in the intelligent anticipation of its joys—will find in this description of the monuments and beauties of Egypt all the delight of a well-written novel, with this satisfaction added, namely, that it is all true.

With the exception of the scientific Egyptologist—and even he will be able to learn something from seeing old knowledge from a fresh point of view—this book can be used by the traveller in place of the somewhat tedious guide-books generally resorted to, and it can be trusted, while avoiding minute details, to bring before the tourist almost everything of interest or value and worthy of notice. The lore of modern, as well as of ancient, Egypt is drawn upon with graceful facility by this real expert in illustrating his remarks on both monuments and scenery.

Our author's lightness of touch is displayed early in the book by his description of the two beasts of burden, the camel and the ass—indeed, no less than a short history of the latter animal in eastern lands is given with point, while the story of Tell el-Amarna and Khu-n-aten reveals the more serious side of his knowledge. The large number of plates adds to the value of the book.

F. G. WALKER.

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*The Ritual of the Mystery of the Judgment of the Soul*, from an ancient Egyptian Papyrus; translated and edited by M. W. BLACKDEN, S.R.I.A., VII. London: published for the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia by Bernard Quaritch. 5s. net.

Mr Blackden is an old worker for the Archaeological Survey, so we note his little book with pleasure. We do not pretend to understand its "Rosicrucian" guise, nor do we agree with his thesis that "certain portions of the Ancient (sic) Egyptian 'Book of the Dead'" contain "transcriptions of fragments of Initiatory Ceremonial for the benefit of the Living, rather than Priestly practices for the benefit of the Dead." Mr Blackden has a right to his opinion, apart from the fact that he is an "S.R.I.A. of the Seventh Degree," whatever that may be. He takes no weird or extraordinary view of the meaning of the hieroglyphs, and translates a portion of the Papyrus of Ani as anybody else would translate it: that is to say, he is a perfectly reasonable Egyptological student. But of his peculiar idea as to the significance of the papyrus he gives no proof, and without arguments it cannot, naturally, be considered.

H. R. HALL.

## ALEXANDER IN EGYPT AND SOME CONSEQUENCES<sup>1</sup>

By D. G. HOGARTH, M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, as all the world knows, led his victorious army into Egypt in the autumn of the year 332 and back again into Asia in the following spring. He stayed in the Nile valley just about the time that an ordinary tourist spends on a single visit, and he never returned to it except as an embalmed corpse. Nevertheless, he changed the course of history in Egypt and constituted there the most durable of all the Macedonian kingdoms—one destined to last three centuries and be succeeded by European domination for some six centuries more. In addition, he founded a city which would become in fifty years the greatest port in the world, and is still the greatest in the Eastern Mediterranean; he diverted the trade of his age and created, for future ages, a new commerce between continents; and he increased the dominion of Egypt by the addition of all north Africa as far west as the Syrtis. He found time, too, to do consciously at least one other thing of no small importance, of which I shall speak presently; and, all unconsciously, he started a Romance which went over the world, inspiring early literary efforts in some scores of languages European, Asiatic, and even African. Not a bad record for a winter in Egypt!

I think we may take it that he came down to Egypt from Syria expressly to do some of these things, so far as human prescience can foresee the consequences of human actions. It is impossible, of course, to say now whether before he left Macedonia he had laid down an original plan which included a conquest of Egypt and particular undertakings there, and that to this he subsequently adhered with the inexorable obstinacy of a German General Staff. He had entered Asia across the Dardanelles rather less than two years before, having won already in the Balkans the reputation of being the first Captain of his time, though he was not quite twenty-three. His expeditionary force of about forty thousand trained men, trivial as it would seem now-a-days, was equal in numbers to any which could be brought up against him in Asia Minor, and much superior in fighting value, in equipment and in auxiliary services. It easily routed the enemy army of Asia Minor at one corner of the peninsula, and, on getting through after a year to the opposite corner, smashed a much larger first army of all Asia with almost equal ease. It would take twelve months, as Alexander's staff knew, to collect the full levy of the continent, and even then more months to move this army down to the coast. The conqueror had therefore free choice either to march straight up and forestall that general levy, or to turn off into Syria and Egypt. He chose the latter course.

<sup>1</sup> A Lecture delivered to the Egypt Exploration Fund on December 8, 1914.

Why? Without guessing that he either did or did not plan so far ahead and adhere so pertinaciously to an original programme as a German General Staff, we may detect in the record of his advance signs of a purpose, and causes of his subsequent action. What then had happened which would have disposed him to invade Egypt and do what eventually was done there? What also which can explain Alexander's adherence to such a purpose and the action he would take? Had anything, in short, happened which accounts for Alexander in Egypt?

He had opened his great venture, as we have seen, with an army of forty thousand men; but with no sufficient war-fleet ready to take the sea. He was strong enough, he well knew, to deal with the Persian army of Asia Minor; but there is no reason to suppose he knew himself to be strong enough to meet a general levy of the Persian Empire. At Issus he enjoyed the proverbial fortune of the brave; but his situation there would have been very serious if Darius had adopted any other strategy than he did—if, for example, he had let his enemy get well into Syria and then had crossed Amanus and closed the defiles. For the sea, held by the Greeks, was hostile to the Captain-General of the Greeks. The treasonable correspondence, which fell into the latter's hands at Issus, sufficiently proves it, even if we had no other evidence; and, in fact, there is plenty. At the moment when, taken in the rear, Alexander turned at bay, he was doubly cut off from his base, and without hope, in case of defeat, of repairing his losses in men and material.

Evidently something of what was certainly his original plan had miscarried. Alexander had relied on the Greek cities of Europe supporting him, following his march with obedient fleets, and sending him reinforcements before he should leave Asia Minor. He started prematurely, without being assured by earnest offers of ships or men, that the agreement of Corinth would be loyally kept. There were, indeed, abundant signs that it would not. But he was very young, impetuous, and impatient, and not a little histrionic, as he was to show on landing near Ilion, on reaching Ephesus, and often enough later, till a narrow escape from the consequences of a supreme piece of dare-devil folly at Mooltan in India would teach him a little self-restraint.

The Greek fleets did not come to his aid in western Asia Minor, and if they appeared, it was as enemy ships. By the time he got down to Caria, worse happened. Miletus and Halicarnassus, the two most powerful of the Greek cities, which he had come to liberate, shut him out and only succumbed after regular sieges and desperate fighting. His own Macedonian ships, which had now taken the sea, were overawed by larger hostile fleets. He went up to Gordian to await the reinforcements to come by the Hellespontine road, but only Macedonian levies appeared in the spring. It was clear he was playing a "lone hand"—*Macedonia contra mundum!* How was he to go on into inner Asia with his rear thus insecure? He must first obtain command of the Eastern Mediterranean. But, inferior on the sea itself, he could only hope to achieve that end by land, i.e. by closing to the Greeks all ports round the Levant, where they could refit and provision, or whence they might draw allies. He had done this already on the coasts from the Dardanelles to the Gulf of Adalia. He must do it now from the latter right round to Cyrene, the last Greek stronghold before barbarism and Carthage began. To this task therefore he devoted his second year, beginning with Cilicia; and continuing, after the crowning mercy of Issus, with the Phoenician ports.

These last had long been the Persian's stand-by for ships and sailors, and only a few years before, had reconquered Cyprus for the Great King. Now Tyre was to give Alexander more trouble than any single city theretofore, or thereafter. He took it after the greatest and longest of all his sieges, crushed it, and went on convinced that some measure must be devised to prevent its revival. Such a measure he took a few months later. It was the foundation of Alexandria in Egypt. Subsequently Fortune—as it happened—once more intervened to relieve him of a further most perilous necessity, if he was to close the Levant to hostile Greeks—the march right through barren Marmarica to attack Cyrene. Envoys from the latter met him more than half way and made submission in form.

This policy of mastering the east Mediterranean coasts, I think, sufficiently explains on the one hand his marching to Egypt, although the direct road to the accomplishment of his primary object had forked off three hundred miles back, and he was giving Darius a good year to prepare to frustrate that object: in consequence, as you know, Alexander's army was to come within very little of disaster next year at Arbela, which, of all his great battles, brought him his worst moments, thanks to the enormous weight of the force which the Persian had had time to collect. On the other it explains his new foundation in Egypt, the care with which its site was chosen, and the scale, immense for the age, on which it was laid out by Alexander himself. That he meant it to be a Macedonian Tyre, I feel no doubt. How completely it was to supersede Tyre by educating another Semitic people to take commerce out of Phœnician hands, he could not, of course, foresee.

As for the site of the city, it has often been pointed out why wretched little Egyptian Rhacotis was selected to be transformed into a world-capital. The Canopic mouth of the Nile had long served for the comparatively little sea-borne commerce with the alien Levant, which Egypt had hitherto had. Of the other mouths, the Pelusiac alone remained open to anything much larger than a fishing boat. Even the Canopic had a dangerous bar. If merchant ships might enter, it offered nevertheless no good port to the Macedonian war-fleets, which must henceforth keep the Levant. Entry, exit, conditions ashore, which made for neither health nor security, were all against it. But at Rhacotis, a few miles west, Alexander found a dry limestone site, raised above the Delta level, within easy reach of drinkable and navigable inland water by a canal to be taken off the Nile, not seriously affected by the Canopic silt which the point of Abukir directs seaward, and covered by an island which, if joined to the mainland by a mole, would give alternative harbours against the sea-winds, blow they whence they might. It was the one possible situation in Egypt for a healthy open port to be used by Macedonian sea-going fleets, and particularly by war-ships, already tending, at that epoch, to increase their tonnage and their draught.

I could enlarge further on matters concerning the beginnings of Alexandria, on features which belong to the original lay-out, and therefore are to be ascribed not to any Ptolemy who enriched or beautified the city, but to Alexander's own town-planner, and, more or less, to Alexander himself. For instance, the gridiron scheme on which the streets were projected—a scheme destined to determine the lay-out of typical Hellenistic foundations all over the Near East, such as Priene and Pergamum, to mention two whose plans have been recovered by excavation. Or again the elaborate system of supply- and drainage-conduits, laid down under the axis of each street when

the roadways were first made—a system which marked an advance in the organization of urban amenities, for the civilized world to imitate. But I must pass on to less parochial matters.

It may seem extraordinary that Alexander's invasion of Egypt should have met (as seems to be the fact) with no opposition whatever. He found himself as free as in his own Emathia to busy himself with founding a city; and he could pass out with large part of his army into the eastern desert, bound for distant Cyrene, without the slightest apprehension about his base. Further, after he had left Egypt for good in the spring of the following year, the country remained perfectly quiet under his extortionate governor, Cleomenes, during all the Far Eastern campaigns; and after Alexander's death, it accepted his successor as a matter of course. But all this would have surprised no contemporary student of Near Eastern politics, and was, doubtless, confidently expected by Alexander himself. Remember what had been happening for nearly a century. Egypt had expelled its Persian rulers about eighty years before, and had successfully resisted all Persian attempts to recover the province till less than ten years before the coming of the Macedonians. This it had effected with the aid, first and foremost, of Greeks; in return for which service Egyptian kings had been sending help to any Greek, who, like Evagoras of Salamis, might be embroiled with Susa. Indeed, much longer ago the nationalist party had begun to call in these aliens and rely on them. Even the liberation of Egypt from Assyria more than two centuries back had been carried through by Psammeticus I with the help of Anatolians whom Gyges of Lydia had sent to his ally; and if those Carians and Pisidians were not, strictly speaking, Greeks, they brought Ionian civilization with them, as Petrie's discoveries at Daphnæ and Memphis have demonstrated, and probably were not distinguished from Hellenes too nicely, if at all, by the Egyptians of the time. The first abortive efforts to throw off the Persian yoke in its turn before the middle of the fifth century had, again, been made with Athenian auxiliaries.

Not to mention any influence which Naukratis may have exercised upon him, the Egyptian (especially the sturdiest element, the Delta man) had long been used not only to the presence of Greeks but to absolute reliance on them as protectors. In his eyes the Greeks were the foremost fighting race in the world, and this belief was only confirmed by the predominance of Greeks in the composition of successive Persian armies sent against Egypt, for example, the force which Artaxerxes Mnemon, tardily taking advice given to him after Canaxa by his captive Clearchus, Captain of the Ten Thousand, detached in vain against Egypt early in the fourth century.

In the year 332 therefore no Egyptian was in the least likely to raise a finger against forty thousand trained Macedonians, even had these no fresh prestige of brilliant victories to their credit. Moreover, were they not regarded as come to deliver Egypt once more from the Persian yoke recently reimposed and no more welcome than of old! It is clear from the genesis of that famous Alexander-Romance, already alluded to, that nationalist Egyptian feeling survived the reconquest by Darius Ochus, and continued to identify itself with the Greek against the Persian. Originally composed in or near Alexandria, as its author's local knowledge of the city shows, the Romance starts as what the Germans call a *Tendenzschrift*, designed to affiliate the actual Macedonian régime to the succession of former native kings. Nectanebo II, who had been driven out by the victorious Persians, appears as the real father of Alexander, having

gained access in his exile to Olympias, Philip's queen, and by magical arts secured her compliance. Later on he is got rid of by the unwitting act of his own son. This story, which, as I have said, went out with the rest of the Romance over the world and made Nectanebo, with Plato and four others, an arch-magician of mediæval tradition throughout Europe, is interesting for many reasons. For example, it brings Nectanebo into one category with Saxon Harold and German Barbarossa, national heroes believed popularly to have survived defeat and death to secure the ultimate victory of the lost cause. Again, it illustrates the effects of stories put about in Alexander's own life-time, perhaps even by himself, which threw doubt on Philip's fatherhood and Olympias' virtue (the last, if other stories are true, not in any case appropriate to Caesar's wife!) and suggested that a god had, in fact, begotten the conqueror of the world. For it was in the serpent shape of Zeus Ammon that the Nectanebo of the Romance obtained the favours of the Macedonian queen. But the chief interest of the story, for our present purpose, lies in its nationalist tendency. It proves the survival of the old spirit of Egypt and its desire to accept Greek rule.

Having touched on the famous story which ascribed Alexander's paternity to Zeus, I cannot be silent about the most notorious of all the conqueror's proceedings in Egypt, his transaction with the Oracle of Ammon in the Oasis of Siwah. I approach the subject shyly, because I have suffered many things by reason of it. Long ago, hardly older than Alexander when he went to the Ammonium, I wrote my first article on a historical subject, in order to explode the belief that Alexander called himself, or indeed was called in his lifetime, son of Ammon. I knew something less about Egypt than I know now, and I had not learned how easy and fatal it is to judge ancient men and affairs by modern codes. Full of enthusiasm for my hero, Alexander, I revolted from the idea that he could have disowned his father, or smirched his mother, and have started and encouraged a ridiculous fable about himself. Finding the contemporary evidence indifferent and sprinkled with obvious fables, such as that of the birds which guided the Macedonians to the Oasis, I tore it to pieces to my own entire satisfaction.

That evidence is, in fact, indifferent, but it is no worse than a great deal which I cheerfully accepted in support of other incidents more creditable to my hero; and I know very well it was not the evidence but a prepossession which determined my conclusions. I was rash enough, some ten years later, to repeat them in a published essay on Alexander. Shortly afterwards Maspero published a treatise entitled *Comment Alexandre le Grand devint dieu en Egypte*. Since then no one has believed me, not even I myself, and every one has taken it from Maspero, with a sideways kick at me, that it was perfectly natural and indeed unavoidable that Alexander, once he had got Egypt, should call himself and be called, Son of Ammon. He was simply following traditional usage in the ordinary way and, in Egypt at least, incurred no imputation whatever of presumption, impiety, or absurdity.

The only unusual thing he did in the matter was to go for acknowledgment to that lone and distant temple of Amen in the palm-groves of Siwah; but this course was, I fancy, determined more by accident than anything else. He was on the march along the coast to Cyrene. Envoys met him at Paraetonium and made further progress westward unnecessary. Paraetonium is the modern Marsa Matruh, the point from which the easy road to Siwah, leaving the coast, takes you across the desert in seven camel-days to the oasis. A visit to the Ammonium, long and widely celebrated outside Egypt

(Croesus had consulted its oracle before he attacked Cyrus two centuries earlier) would make the already completed days of marching worth their fatigues. So to the Ammonium Alexander went, just as Alibas Hilmi went, but in a carriage and eight, a few years ago. Possibly Alexander's action was influenced by the prospect of not having time afterwards to visit Amen-Ra in Thebes. Possibly not. With that, let me leave this painful part of the matter. But, seriously, I am not sorry after all to have had an opportunity of recanting publicly a view which I have abandoned privately for nearly twenty years.

For what is left to be said on the matter we must follow Alexander up into Asia. The most important and significant fact about it all is this:—not that he was son of Ammon in the Nile valley, but that he continued to be so in lands with which Amen had nothing to do. It is possible that he proceeded to identify himself, or to be identified, with other gods of other lands, as he conquered them; that he was son of Baal in Tyre, of Bel-Marduk in Babylon, and in succession of whatever supreme deities the Bactrians, Afghans, Punjabis and other peoples of the Middle East may have been worshipping at that epoch. But there is no actual evidence for such further affiliations, and it is not clear that the usage of Middle Asiatic religions offered either means or precedents of nearly so literal and satisfactory a sort as did the usage of Egypt for affiliating the mortal sovereign to a supreme deity. But what is certain is this—that so far as his own followers imputed divinity in honour to him while he was on the march, and so far as his Greek and other critics imputed it in ridicule, it continued to be expressed as son-ship of Ammon.

After his death, as you probably know, the apotheosis of him which his successors promoted for their own ends, whether in Asia Minor or in Syria, or in Babylon, was from first to last as a divinity in the Egyptian, not any Asiatic, pantheon. For the benefit of Greeks or phil-hellenic princes he might appear on coins with attributes of a hero, such as Herakles; but, if he was to be a full god, the ram-horns of Ammon must protrude from his beautiful hair. In the event, the universal vogue of the Romance, which described his generation by Zeus Ammon, soon made any other affiliation impossible; and it is as "Dhulkarnein," the Two-horned, that he has passed from pre-Islamic folklore into the Koran and out of it again into the pseudo-history of half Asia, and much Africa.

These facts, more than any other evidence, dispose me to think that Alexander himself insisted on his son-ship of Ammon after he left Egypt, and imposed it as a cult with greater or less effect wherever he went. Otherwise, there is little reason why successors in Asia, who had nothing to do with Egypt except to covet it, should have adopted in common an Egyptianizing aspect of his divinity. True, it was his original apotheosis; true, too, that, when his mortal body had gone to rest in Egypt, there was a certain logic in his spirit being deified in no other guise than that of an Egyptian god. But I suspect Alexander himself took a hand in the matter.

Why, a mortal, he should have been concerned to put on immortality in life, and to create and foster a cult of himself, is to be explained not merely by vanity nor even by the immediate utility of self-magnification,—though both these considerations counted, no doubt, for something,—but by a less personal motive which shows through Alexander's actions more and more as his conquests went forward. He may have intended from the first to go up into Asia as son of Ammon; but it is much more probable that it was only when he had automatically become so in Egypt that he

bethought himself of using his novel and very un-Hellenic character to supply a vital necessity of which he must already have become conscious as he was moving through inner Anatolia and Syria, and would become still more conscious in inner Asia. This necessity was a Macedonian god who, standing for Macedonian Empire, would meet and satisfy the instinctive religiosity of the Asiatic mind. Without such a god Macedonian Empire in Asia could but be a superficial transient thing. I have tried, in a little book, *The Ancient East*, just issued in the "Home University Library" series, to explain this necessity, under which the Macedonians found themselves in Asia, and the reason why neither their ancestral deities, nor the Olympian and local gods of the Greeks, were qualified to satisfy it; how, too, history illustrates the growth of a consciousness among the Hellenes not only of their failure to satisfy the Asiatic need, but of a need of vital religion for themselves. Finally, how in the end Asia profited by this weakness of the West and took its philosophic captors captive with religions sufficiently seasoned with Greek philosophies to supply the needs of Europe. To that attempt of mine I must refer you now, all too brief as is the exposition there offered, limits having been prescribed to my book as to my lecture to-day.

For I have still to take a wider view of the consequences of Alexander's action in Egypt than it was possible for Alexander himself to take. *Impar congressus*, I yet have an advantage over Achilles—I am living two thousand years after his death! Shortly and broadly stated, what has Alexander's conquest of Egypt done for the world? I shall limit myself to a few reasonably direct and immediate results, those whose connection with actions of Alexander in Egypt is not too remote. I pass by as remote any effect the Greek occupation had on the Roman Empire, and, for another reason, even those most important effects which it had immediately and directly enough on Greece. The fact is, that the most noteworthy of these effects, the change which the Alexandrian School wrought in the direction and scope of Greek thought, was an effect of a larger cause, of the Macedonian conquest as a whole, whose influence was polarized in Alexandria and transmitted thence to Greece. Nor need I say more about effects already adumbrated in the earlier part of this lecture, such as that diversion of the main sea-route of Levantine commerce from Tyre to Alexandria; those changes in town-planning for which Alexandria served as the model; the introduction of Egyptian gods among the Greeks (inscriptions of the Greek mainland, e.g. those of the love-feasts and benefit-clubs, soon give us evidence of this); or that still more serious blow to Hellenic political and social ideas which was dealt by Alexander's insistence on the validity of his Egyptian deification throughout his Empire. One soon sees its effects on the most democratic of Greek cities when divine honours are paid in Athens itself successively to Demetrius of Phalerum and to Demetrius the Besieger.

Three other consequences, however, of grave and general import have not been set forth yet. The first and most momentous was the effect which Alexandria had on the fortunes and future of the Hebrew race. It was undoubtedly the attraction of this city which drew down from their isolated hills the Jews, already prepared by the great experience of the Babylonian captivity to expand, to associate with foreigners, to live abroad, and to take with avidity to trade. No sooner had the decline of Tyre given them a chance to usurp the position of indispensable middleman between Greek and Semitic peoples, than Alexandria brought them to the sea, which hitherto they

had left to their Phœnician cousins. And Alexandria it was which was chief agent in their hellenization. On this point I must refer you once more to that recent little book of mine, to its last chapter, wherein I have tried to show that Judæa was under the influence of Alexandria in Hellenistic times far longer and more completely than under that of Antioch; and that the place where the Septuagint committee made its translation of the Scriptures, had the most to do with the evolution of the Hellenistic Semitic type and of the Semite-Hellenic philosophic religiosity, which ultimately begat the Christian apostolate. Alexandria, it should be remembered, was in Ptolemaic times the home of the largest urban Hebrew population in the world. One of its four chief quarters was inhabited entirely by Jews and there they got most of their primary education as bankers and middlemen of the civilized world.

Secondly, I call attention to the fact that it was the Macedonian occupation of Egypt which opened the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean to European commerce. I am not forgetting Alexander's subsequent overland incursion into the Punjab. This had less effect on communications between the West and India; for the East soon re-occupied and virtually re-closed the roads. But the Red Sea route remained in constant use by Greeks of Egypt from the opening of the third century B.C., and by it travelled much of that Hellenic influence which has left a deep mark on Indian art, and one only less profound on Indian thought.


Lastly, a very few words more on that famous Romance which was written and sent out over the world as a result of Alexander's appearance in Egypt. Not only did it carry some knowledge, however greatly mixed with fable, of Alexander's personality and achievements to the ends of the earth—into Abyssinia, Scandinavia, and Britain, which, else, might not have heard of him till comparatively modern times; but probably it carried also to countless thousands their first knowledge that there had been a Greek people and a world in which it had played a foremost part. Its only possible rival for that credit is the Tale of Troy, which, spread as it was through Roman channels, is probably younger folk-lore in the remoter lands where both Romances appeared in written form at the earliest articulate moment of the Middle Age. If Plutarch and Quintus Curtius instructed the cultivated societies of the Renaissance about Alexander, the Egyptian Romance had already revealed him to their rude forefathers, and was in many lands—among them our own—an earlier fountain-head of literature.

## THE NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING

By ALAN H. GARDINER, D.LITT.

FROM the questions which are frequently put to the Egyptologist with regard to the nature of the Egyptian hieroglyphs it would appear that popular knowledge on this subject is pretty well in the same position where the close of the eighteenth century left it. Many who are aware of the immortal discoveries which Jean-François Champollion announced to the Paris *Académie des Inscriptions* on the 27th September, 1822, still vaguely nurse the illusion that the hieroglyphs are picture-signs with fantastic allegorical meanings arbitrarily attached to them by the ancient priests; and they conceive therefore the interpretation of a hieroglyphic inscription more to resemble the unravelling of a puzzle than the translation of language by means of dictionary and grammar, the philologist's usual weapons. The fact is that the old classical tradition of Horapollon and Chæremon, Greek writers of an uncertain date, is still alive and still colours, though indirectly and unconsciously, our use of the terms hieroglyphic and hieroglyphs. Both these writers possessed accurate information about the values of certain signs, but they were completely at sea as to the reasons *why* those signs had those particular values. Horapollon maintains, for example, that

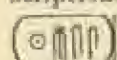
The hawk is put for the soul, from the signification of its name; for among the Egyptians the hawk is called BAIËTH; for the word BAI is the soul, and ERH the heart; and the heart, according to the Egyptians, is the shrine of the soul; so that in its composition the name signifies 'soul enshrined in heart.' Whence also the hawk, from its correspondence with the soul, never drinks water, but blood, by which, also, the soul is sustained<sup>1</sup>.

The facts upon which this astounding jumble of sense and nonsense rests are very nearly correct; the soul, in Egyptian hieroglyphs, is represented by a human-headed hawk  and was called BAI; BAIËTH might well be a dialectal pronunciation of *beg* (Coptic βεγ), the word for "hawk"; *het* "heart" (Coptic γαρ) is at once recognizable in EÏH. And yet the fate of becoming a warning example is all that could be expected for a faithful disciple of Horapollon, such as was, for example, Athanasius Kircher, the learned Jesuit who lived in the seventeenth century. In his work on the hieroglyphic texts of the Pamphilian Obelisk, Kircher has to explain the signs which we now know to spell the imperial title *Autocrator*; his translation runs as follows: "the originator of all moisture and all vegetation is Oairis, whose creative power was

<sup>1</sup> A. T. CORY, *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollon Nilota*, London, 1840, pp. 15-16.

brought to this kingdom by the holy Mophtha." The holy Mophtha still remains a mystery to Egyptologists!

A passage in the works of Clement of Alexandria gave a truer account of the nature of the hieroglyphic script, but was too vague and obscure to be of much service to the scholars who pinned their hopes upon the study of the Rosetta stone. The weight of tradition in favour of a figurative interpretation was so overwhelming, that it was only little by little that a succession of investigators broke this obstacle to decipherment down. It is perhaps news to many that within a few days of the public announcement of his discovery, Champollion was himself totally unaware that he held in his hand the key to all the wisdom of the Egyptians. At the beginning of September 1822 he still believed that his hieroglyphic alphabet, established with infinite pains by the comparison of various royal rings or cartouches (☉), had no application save for the transliteration of foreign names like those of the Ptolemies and Roman emperors; under the influence of the classical tradition he was convinced that hieroglyphic writing, save for this one purpose, was purely figurative and symbolic, and that it was free from phonetic elements. The truth dawned upon him only on the 14th September, when he received from a friend the engraving of certain inscriptions from the temple of Abu Simbel. In the last two signs of the cartouche



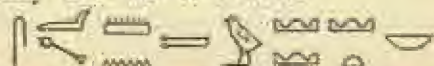
he at once recognized the letter *s* (𓂀) of his alphabet. Before these stood a sign (𓂀) which he had reason for thinking was connected with the notion of "birth," "to be born," in Coptic *mas*. Before this, again, he noted the image of the sun (☉) "to be pronounced *Rē* or *Rā*," as Coptic also had taught him. *Ra-ma-ses*, he read, and in the same instant it was borne in upon him that the long-sought solution of the problem was found; for here, in the name of a famous Pharaoh whose memory was preserved in many ancient writers, he found a native word of indubitable antiquity written in part phonetically, like the names of the Ptolemies and Cleopatras which he had long since deciphered, and in part ideographically, as his researches had again and again assured him must be the case<sup>1</sup>. A few hours' study gave Champollion the further name of Tuthmōsis, another almost equally famous Pharaoh. From that day onward discovery crowded in upon discovery; and such were the astounding genius and industry of the founder of our science that before his premature death in 1832 at the early age of forty-one he was able to make out the general sense of most monumental inscriptions and the main lines of the Dynastic history lay clear before him.

The researches of three generations of scholars have built up a wide and complex structure on the foundations laid by Champollion, and we are now able to trace, with something like certainty, the origin and development of the hieroglyphic script. We can see clearly that it was a thing of rapid growth, and that, like the conventions of Egyptian art and the characteristic physiognomy of Egyptian religion, its main principles, once established, remained immutable for fully three thousand years. It is not until the beginning of the Third Dynasty that inscriptions become really frequent, but long before this period all the classes of sign which we shall have to distinguish

<sup>1</sup> See the admirable account of the decipherment by Fräulein HARTLEBEN: *Champollion, sein Leben und sein Werk*, vol. 1, pp. 420-422.




were already fully developed and differentiated. The later Dynasties added nothing radically or essentially new, though the spelling of individual words changed greatly in the course of time, and a marked degradation set in after the close of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The Middle Kingdom is the period of the greatest consistency in spelling, and it is rightly regarded as the classical age of Egyptian orthography. The Græco-Roman period saw a great influx of new signs, mostly due to playful combinations and ingenious theological speculation. These tendencies paved the way for the allegorical explanations offered by Horapollo and Chaeremon, who however go one step beyond the Ptolemaic priests in their total disregard of what may be termed the natural as opposed to the artificial multiplication of hieroglyphic signs.





Before attempting to trace back hieroglyphic writing to its actual birthplace it is needful to gain some comprehension of the system in its developed form, as exemplified, for instance, in a monumental inscription of the Fifth Dynasty. As a sample of hieroglyphic writing we may take the four words










which, on a tablet of King Sahurê in the Wady Magharah (peninsula of Sinai), accompany the scene of the Pharaoh grasping an Asiatic by the hair and smiting him with a club. These words, being interpreted, signify "the smiting of the Beduins of all the desert-hills." The exact sound of the Egyptian equivalent is unknown, only the consonantal skeleton *skr mntw h'swt nb* being vouchsafed to us; for intelligibility's sake we may conjecture, however, some such pronunciation as *sôyer mentheygyew kha'sowwet nebet*.

Examining these twelve hieroglyphic signs one by one we shall recognize in them the following objects: a napkin folded over, a wind-screen (?), a club, a draught-board, rippling water, a tethering-rope, a quail-chick, a hilly desert (thrice repeated), a loaf (?), and a basket. Of these, only four signs can in any way be brought into connection with the sense attributed to our four hieroglyphic words, namely the club, which is identical with that depicted in the Pharaoh's hand, and the thrice-repeated desert-sign.


These signs are good examples of our first group of signs, called PICTURE-SIGNS or IDEOGRAMS, the latter name being given to them because they are writings (*γράφμα*) of the forms (*ἰδέα*) of things. Some further examples may be given: to convey the notion of the ibis-god Thoth the Egyptians drew the picture of an ibis perched on a standard such as was carried in the priestly processions ; to indicate the meaning "head" they depicted a human head ; for "house" they outlined the ground-plan of a house .


Now note, however, that the sign  in our sample inscription differs from the rest of the signs that have been quoted, in that, for the purposes of that inscription, it signifies not a *thing*, but an *action*—the action of smiting or clubbing. But there are simpler and more explicit ways of conveying the notion of particular actions than this, as when the image of a man constructing a wall  is used to indicate the verb "to build," or two arms holding a shield and battle-axe  are used to indicate the action of fighting. States may be expressed in a similar manner: thus the verb "to be old" is written with the picture of an old man leaning upon a stick ; in

like manner the sign of some lotus-flowers growing out of a pool of water  serves to represent the verdure of the Inundation-season.



By writing such ideograms one after the other in the order prescribed by the spoken language, simple sentences like "Thoth is old" ( ) or "a house was built" ( ) could obviously be conveyed. Now simple as this method of writing may seem we are here, nevertheless, at some distance from the most primitive kind of picture-writing. Hieroglyphic writing, even when ideographic, is wholly dominated by the influence of language; in other words,   stands not merely for the conception of the building of a house, but also for the Egyptian words *ḥodu per* "a house is (or was) built," *ḥōd* being the verb "to build," and *per* the word for "house."



For the right understanding of the evolution of the hieroglyphic script it is essential to realize the importance of the influence of language. Let us suppose that a primitive scribe wished to communicate pictorially, quite apart from language, the notion of Thoth being old; in all probability he would have tried to represent a decrepit ibis-headed being leaning upon a stick<sup>1</sup>. The objections to such a method of picture-writing are twofold: firstly, it makes quite an excessive demand upon the skill and ingenuity of the writer, and secondly, its results are very far from unambiguous; a spectator might just as well interpret such a picture as meaning "Thoth has a stick to lean upon," which is not at all the sense supposed to be in the mind of the writer. Clearly what was needed was some means of reducing the number and variety of all possible pictorial writings, so that every picture-sign used should have attached to it a more or less fixed conventional meaning. Language is the medium by which alone we have become able to arrange and give precision to our thoughts, and two or three hundred words have been found enough to suffice the needs of simple folk.



At the conclusion of this article I shall attempt to indicate the way in which language became associated with pictures, so as to serve for the expression of articulate ideas. For the present the fact must be taken for granted, and the reader must be content with noting its consequences. Of these perhaps the principal was the wider application given to individual signs. Take for example , the now familiar sign for old age. Pictorially regarded, this sign could strictly only indicate old age as exhibited in the person of a man; but by virtue of its association with the Egyptian word *ḥui* (perhaps to be vocalized *thōney*), the same sign could be used in every connection in which *ḥui* could be used, whether in describing the old age of a god, a man, a woman, or an animal. In other terms, the meaning "man" disappears from the connotation of the hieroglyph and the meaning "old" alone remains.



Somewhat different, but easily comprehensible, extensions of meaning may be illustrated by the following instances. The sign  represents a twig, for which the Egyptian word was *ḥet* (*ht*). But this identical word has also the significations "wood" and "tree." If therefore the Egyptian scribe wished to express the notions "wood" or "tree" it sufficed him to draw the picture of the twig. Take again the picture of


<sup>1</sup> In Theban tomb no. 232 is a picture of the aged Re, falcon-headed, leaning like an old man upon a stick.



the falcon-god Horus , the primary use of which was to express the idea of the god himself. But every living Pharaoh was considered as an impersonation of Horus, so that the sign  could be employed too where the Pharaoh Horus was meant, in spite of the fact that the sign represents not a man, but a bird.

This allusive employment of hieroglyphic signs, an advance under the influence of language from a more rigid pictorial use, pointed the way to yet further developments. Thus, the picture of any thing could be employed not only to suggest the name of that thing, but also to express various actions or states involving the existence of that thing. For example,  depicts an animal's ear, and served to write the word *masdger* (*msdr*) "ear," whether referring to a human ear or to that of an animal; elsewhere, however, it might be read *sodgem* (*sdr*) "to hear," since the ear is the organ of hearing. Similarly the hieroglyph , depicting a scribe's palette, reed-pen and water-bottle, might not only represent the word *menhadg* (*mnhd*) "a writing outfit," but might alternatively stand for the verb "to write" *skhai* (*sh*)<sup>1</sup> or for the substantives "scribe" *sakh* (*sh*) or "writing" (*sh*).

The very flexibility of the ideographic signs, as illustrated in the last paragraph, is sufficient evidence of their insufficiency, unless accompanied by other signs which could render their meaning less ambiguous. If  can mean any one of the four things "scribe's outfit," "to write," "scribe" or "writing," how could it be known, in the particular case, which of the four was meant? The eye  in Egyptian was called *yīret*; without unduly extending the principle above described, the same sign might have been used to write a full dozen different things that are done with or in some way concern the eye, such as "to see," "to look," "to stare," "to watch," "to wink," "to blink," "to weep" and even "to be blind." Clearly, if reading was to be possible at all, some method had to be found for indicating the specific meaning to be adopted in a given case.

This problem was met in a simple way, yet in a way which at first sight seems to increase rather than to diminish the ambiguity of the signs. The word for "eye" in Egyptian, as we have seen, was *yīret*; the new departure consisted in using the hieroglyph of the eye to spell words the sense of which had nothing to do with the eye, but the sound of which closely resembled the sound of *yīret*, the word for eye. In this way  was employed to write the verb *ʾr-t* "to make," which in the infinitive sounded *yīret* just like the word for eye. So used,  is no longer an ideogram or picture-sign; it has become the mere indicator of a sound, and its external appearance is a matter of complete indifference, so far as the purpose for which it was used is concerned. Signs of this kind, which are much more numerous in Egyptian writing than ideograms, are called PHONOGRAMS, because they serve to write sounds (*phonē*).







<sup>1</sup> I take this opportunity of pointing out that the original consonantal value of the word "to write" was *sh*, or *sh*, not *sk* as usually supposed. This ought to be clear from the name of the goddess of writing  "the writer" (*Pyr.* 616), as well as from the Coptic equivalents *ⲉⲃⲁⲓ*: *ⲉⲃⲁⲓ* of *sh*, *ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ*, *sh*, *ⲉⲃⲁⲓ*. However the early interchange of *k* and *sh* is extremely rare, see *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, Vol. 49 (1911), p. 22.





Now the transition of meaning that is exhibited in these phonograms is precisely the same as that found in the playful form of writing familiar among ourselves under the name of *rebus-writing*. Exactly the same principle is involved, too, in our children's game of charades. There is a point of great interest to be learnt from this comparison. Let us attempt to render in *rebus-writing* the English word *manly*. For the first syllable we might draw the picture of a little man, and for the second syllable we possibly might make shift with the representation of a bed, suggesting "to lie." The two Egyptian hieroglyphs   would thus form an easily enough recognizable equivalent of the word *man-ly*.





The point here to be emphasized is that the genius of the English language is totally opposed to the development of any elaborate system of *rebus-writing* along the lines I have described. There is indeed no difficulty in forming *rebus-groups* for such words as *manly*, *mandrake*, *manhood* or *mandate*, since *lie*, *drake*, *hood* and *date* are, all of them, notions that can be represented pictorially. But there are other words beginning with *man-* which it would be quite impossible to write in this way; how, for example, could one cope with *manna* or *manacle*? Similar difficulties arise with the words *monkey* and *mongoose*; the images of a *key* and a *goose* would meet the respective requirements of the two second syllables, but we should be quite at a loss to find any suitable equivalent for the first.






*Rebus-writing* has thus, in English, but a narrow field open to it. It is otherwise with the Egyptian language, because there the relation of the vowels to the consonants was different from the same relation in the Indo-European languages. In Egyptian, as in the more or less closely related Semitic languages<sup>1</sup>, no word begins with a full vowel-sound, and, speaking in a general way, it may be said that the vocalization was a matter of quite secondary importance. The essential part of every Egyptian word was its consonantal skeleton, and variations of vocalization seldom altered the root-meaning of a word, but merely varied the nuance of meaning to be attached to it. Take the verbal stem *m + n* "to remain" or "be firm." The various parts of this verb, and its derivative substantives as well, are formed by ringing the vocalic changes on this consonantal framework. Thus *mēnu* means "remaining," *moun* "to remain"; the simple indicative tense probably sounded *emno* "remains"; *maḥnu* is the word for "monument." Now cases were quoted above in which, under the influence of language, picture-signs acquired a wider and less restricted ideographic meaning than their appearance seemed strictly to permit. In a somewhat similar manner original picture-signs, on their conversion into phonograms, rapidly obtained a wider phonetic use than might have been anticipated *a priori*. We are greatly in the dark as to the real vocalization of most Egyptian words, but let us assume,

<sup>1</sup> In the early Semitic scripts (Moabitic, Phoenician, Aramaic, etc.) no vowels are written; the "pointing" of certain Hebrew and Arabic religious books is a later development. That the cuneiform writing possesses true syllabic signs—combinations of specific consonants with specific vowels—is a sure indication of its invention by a non-Semitic people, the Sumerians. The absence of vowel-signs in writing is not as puzzling as people are often inclined to think. If the present article shows anything, it is that the earlier scripts are suggestive of sound-values rather than precise and exhaustive renderings of them. Even our own alphabet, at the best of times, is far from satisfying the exacting demands of a phonetician.

























for the sake of argument, that the word for a draught-board was *mānet*, the syllable *-et* being the feminine ending. Let us further assume that the feminine participle "she who remains" was likewise pronounced *mānet*. By virtue of the principle that was expounded above in reference to  *yīret* "the eye" and *yīret* "to make," it would be perfectly natural to use the draught-board  for the writing of *mānet* "she who remains." But this word *mānet* "she who remains" was inseparably associated with all the other derivatives of the verbal stem *moun*, and it consequently came about that the sign  was used for the writing of all these as well. Neither the particular vocalization of the word for draught-board, nor its feminine ending *-et* (if the word was feminine), continued to possess the slightest importance, and as phonogram the sign  thus acquires the value *m+n*, whatever vocalization might temporarily serve as clothing to those consonants. Wherever the consonants *m+n* occurred in that order, whether in the biliteral words *moun* "to remain," *emuo* "remains," *mēnu* "remaining" or whether as one of several component parts in more lengthy words such as *Eymūn* "the god Amūn," *emuoḏy* "breast" or *mentheyyew* "Beduins,"  could now be used as a simple sound-sign for *m+n*. And in precisely the same manner  became a biliteral sign for *y+r*, and was used, not only for the variously vocalized derivatives of the stem *īr* or *yr* "to make," but also as an element in the spelling of such totally unrelated words as *eyrōthet* "milk" and *Wesyrēw* "Osiris."

The great utility of a long series of BILITERAL signs, that is to say signs having as their phonetic value two consonants in a certain order (like  *m+n*), may easily be conceived<sup>1</sup>. How much more serviceable, then, would not be a series of UNILITERAL or alphabetic signs, with which any given word could at once be translated into phonetic writing? In point of fact an alphabet was evolved simultaneously with the other kinds of phonetic sign, but such was the peculiar conservatism of Ancient Egypt, that the alphabet always remained auxiliary to the other elements in the combined ideographic and phonetic script. The origin of the alphabetic signs was closely analogous to that of the biliteral signs. The Egyptian language possessed a number of words in which the consonants all except one were so weak, so similar to a breathing or vowel, that they could be ignored just in the same way as it has been seen that vowels were always ignored. The hieroglyph  depicts a mouth, and was ideographically used to write the word meaning "mouth." This word in Egyptian was *rō*, the terminal consonant, here indicated by a comma, probably not being sounded. On the same principle that  *mānet*, by the ignoring of the vowel and the feminine ending *-et*, gave rise to a biliteral sign *m+n*, so *rō*, by the cancelling of the *ō* and the breathing, gave rise to the alphabetic sign *r*. The phonetic value *d* for the hand  has been recently shown to be derived from an ancient word for

<sup>1</sup> It is exceedingly important to observe that  *m+n*,  *y+r* and their congeners are in no sense "syllabic" signs, as they are usually and quite wrongly called: firstly, it has been seen that  can be used in the writing of words like *emuo*, *mēnu* and *emuoḏy*, where the *m* is in one syllable and the *n* in another; and secondly, if  were a real syllabic sign, it would have to possess some one uniform vowel whenever it occurs—at least, if we attribute to the word syllable the sense which it usually bears. The term BICOCONSONANTIAL might perhaps be considered superior to BILITERAL to designate this class of phonogram, but is open to the objection that the "half-vowels" *i* (*y*) and *u* (*y*) would then be implied somewhat too categorically to be consonants, whereas in truth they only function as consonants, without quite being such.



hand *yad* (Hebrew יָד, Arabic يَد), which very early became obsolete<sup>1</sup>. Now the Egyptians were never able quite to make up their minds whether *w* and *y* were consonants or vowels; so closely were they related to the vowels *u* and *i* respectively, that under certain circumstances they could be regarded as identical therewith, and could consequently be ignored in hieroglyphic writing. For this reason the word *yad* might be considered to possess only one consonant that really mattered and thus the value  = *yad* = (*ja*) *d* = *d* was evolved. The origin of the value *dy* (*dj*) for the hieroglyph of the snake  is still more complex. The name of the Snake-goddess was *Wēdyōet*—a name preserved in the Delta place-name Butō. Fuller spellings in which the initial consonant *w* and the breathing ' are written out occur frequently, but a very early variant   merely adds to the snake the *t* of the feminine ending and a more important-looking image of the goddess<sup>2</sup>. By a process of thought not very easy for ourselves to realize, but still merely an extension of the principle involved in the creation of the alphabetic values of the mouth and the hand, there dropped out from *wēdyōet* not only the vowel *ō* and the feminine ending *-et*, but also the whole first syllable *wē* or *ye*, thus leaving high and dry the alphabetic value  = *dy* (*dj*).








The complete alphabet of the earliest times, including one or two values which later became fused together, contained twenty-four signs, as follows:















	' (breathing)		h (fricative <i>kh</i> )
	i (like <i>y</i> or <i>j</i> )		h (ch)
	' (a strong guttural, the Arabic ع 'ayyin)		s
	w (like <i>w</i> or <i>y</i> )		š (perhaps sharper than <i>s</i> )
	b		š (sh)
	p		q (q)
	f		k
	m		g
	n		t
	r		t (th or z)
	h (weak <i>h</i> )		d
	h (emphatic <i>h</i> )		d (dy)





<sup>1</sup> SETHE, Das Wort für "Hand" im Ägyptischen, in *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, Vol. 50 (1912), pp. 91-93.

<sup>2</sup> See SETHE, Zur Sage vom Sonnensenge, p. 10 (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens*, V).



Besides alphabetic and biliteral signs there was also evolved a TRILITERAL group, of which  =  $h + p + r$  is a good example. This derives its value from the name of the scarabæus or dung-beetle, which may have sounded something like *khepror*. Naturally the number of words in which a triliteral sign might be called upon to indicate the spelling was strictly limited, and there were good chances of their being as a rule etymologically related. A few of the words in which  was employed are










 *hpr* (*khôper*) "to become,"   *Hpri* "the god Khopri,"     *hpriit* "occurrences"; the vocalization of the last two words is unknown.










We have now discussed three varieties of phonograms, namely alphabetic, biliteral and triliteral signs; it is desirable next to say something about their use. They can either be used alone, as   $r + n = rn$  (*ran*) "name,"  *hpr* (*khôper*) "to become"; or else in combination, like   $r + n = rn$  (*ran*) "name,"    *irîit* (vowels unknown) "what has been done." In using the biliterals and triliterals it was found useful to have some aid to memory; so very often either whole or part of their phonetic value accompanied them in alphabetic form. Thus  is generally written for  $m + n$  instead of simply , as in the words  *Ymn* "the god Amün" and   *Mntw* "the Beduins" (so in our type inscription), both of which could now be made out by the reader himself on consulting the previous paragraphs. One must beware of reading  as  $m + n + n$  instead of simply  $m + n$ ; similarly when  *hr* is written instead of  alone—this being a biliteral with the value  $h + r$ —care must be taken not to read  $h + (h + r) + r$ . Owing to their function of completing and explaining the sound of the biliterals or triliterals which they accompany, such alphabetic signs are called PHONETIC COMPLEMENTS.


















The combination of phonetic with ideographic signs was far more common than the use of phonograms alone. The inevitable ambiguity of purely ideographic writing was illustrated above by the case of , to which we now return. This sign, in addition to its strict pictorial sense "eye" (usually written ), and its phonetic value *ir*, could also be employed ideographically in the writing of "to see," "to weep," "to behold," and so forth. To prevent confusion between these various possibilities of meaning, the only remedy was to combine phonetic signs with the ideograms. Perhaps the earliest way in which this was effected was by the prefixing of a biliteral or triliteral sign to the ideogram, as when the biliteral sign of the sickle, with the value  $m + i$ , was prefixed to the eye in order to spell the word   *m<sup>i</sup>* "to see." This stage

<sup>1</sup> The stroke, originally the ideogram for unity, has the secondary function of accompanying ideograms in order to indicate that they mean precisely the thing that they represent; when the substantive in question is feminine, the sign of the feminine ending *-t* precedes. See *SERIES*, in *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, Vol. 45 (1908), pp. 44-45.

has been reached also by Chinese writing, where it is particularly common<sup>1</sup>. Hieroglyphic writing usually, however, renders the combination of phonogram and ideogram yet more clear by the addition of one or several phonetic complements, as explained in the last paragraph;   *m'* + eye + ' is therefore a commoner spelling than simply

. Several phonetic signs may sometimes be needful to indicate the whole consonantal value of a word, as in   *rm* "to weep" or    *gmh* "to behold"; in the second of these words  is the biliteral sign for *g+m* and  *m* is accordingly a phonetic complement. But it was not always deemed necessary to indicate the entire sound-value to be attached to an ideogram; thus when we come across the group  the owl *m* suffices to inform us that *slm* "to hear" is meant, and not, for example, *id* "to be deaf."

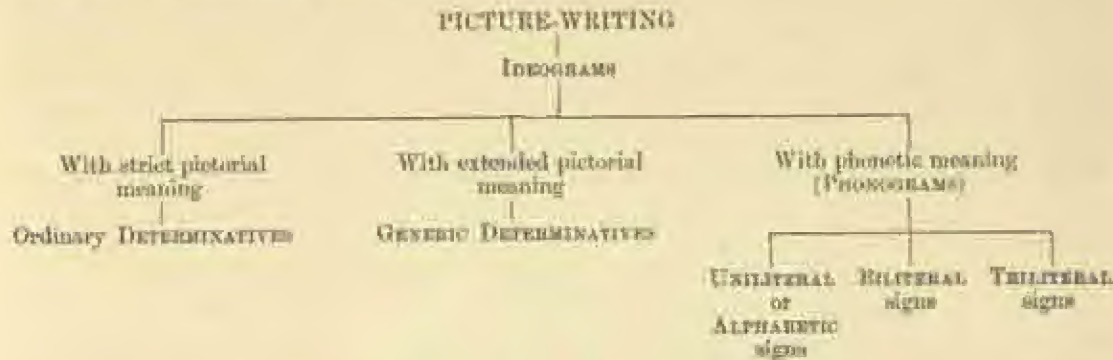
There was a distinct tendency, particularly in the case of substantives, to place the ideographic part of a word after its phonetic elements. The result of this has been to give the ideograms the appearance of determining the sense of the phonetic signs which precede them, whereas historically it would often be more true to say that the phonetic signs determined the sound of the ideograms. Egyptologists are accustomed to call ideograms occurring at the end of words by the name of DETERMINATIVES; thus in the word  *t* "house"  is called a determinative, in the same way that we should speak of  as a determinative in  *rm* "to weep," and in    *gmh* "to behold," though not in  *m'* "to see," since there  is not actually at the end of the word.

In a sense all determinatives might be called generic determinatives, since with very few exceptions they are applicable to several words, and not to one alone. In practice, however, we make a distinction between the rarer ideographic signs which are apt to be used at the end of words and such common signs as  following words expressive of more or less violent action, or  following verbs of motion; these latter are termed GENERIC DETERMINATIVES. A number of such determinatives have originated through the replacing of specific, but complicated, hieroglyphs by others less precise, but demanding less skill in draughtsmanship. Thus in the Old Kingdom  and  and  are the specific determinatives of    *hw* "to strike,"   *sh* "to reap" and   *phk* "to bale out water" respectively; in later texts  is found as generic determinative in all three cases; cf. the spellings   and  .

We have now reviewed all the main kinds of hieroglyphic sign, and discussed













<sup>1</sup> It is very instructive to compare the evolution of the Egyptian hieroglyphs with that of the Chinese writing; for the latter the brilliant exposition in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. CHINA may be consulted. The extreme paucity of different sounds in Chinese prevented any large development of phonetic signs, and in consequence the writing remained chiefly ideographic.

the principles underlying their development. It has been found that hieroglyphic writing is ultimately derived from writing by means of pictures; the chief ramifications may be represented diagrammatically as follows:—



All the derivative forms of hieroglyphs remained concurrently in use, so that the nature of Egyptian hieroglyphic writing may be summarized as a combination of rebus-writing with phonetic writing.

**Analysis of Type-Inscription** (see above, p. 63)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br> | <p>Alphabetic sign <i>f</i>, used as phonetic complement of the Triliteral sign <i>sfr</i>.</p> <p>Ideogram expressing the idea of "clabbing," used as determinative.  = <i>sfr</i>, "clabbing," infinitive of the verb.</p> <p>Biliteral sign <i>m</i> + <i>n</i>.</p> <p>Alphabetic sign <i>a</i>, used as phonetic complement to the above.</p> <p>Alphabetic sign <i>t</i>.</p> <p>Alphabetic sign <i>w</i>.  = <i>Maṭw</i>, "Beduins," object of <i>sfr</i>.</p> <p>Ideogram meaning "desert-hill" (<i>h/s-t</i>), thrice repeated to express plurality (<i>h/s-t</i> {<i>w</i>}).</p> <p>Alphabetic sign <i>t</i>, indicating the feminine gender.</p> <p>Biliteral sign, <i>n</i> + <i>h</i>. The word <i>nh</i> (<i>t</i>) means "all," and is an adjective agreeing with the preceding word <i>h/sut</i>.</p> |
|---|--|

The four words together mean "the suiting of the Beduins of all the desert-hills."







In the above description<sup>1</sup> of the hieroglyphic system of writing as it existed throughout practically the whole of the Dynastic period more emphasis has been laid on the logical development of the signs than upon their actual historical order of evolution. Before concluding this article it will be appropriate to trace the origin of the hieroglyphs yet farther back, even to a time when writing may be said to have been non-existent.

The custom of drawing or carving the images of things on stone, wood or other materials is a practice of immemorial antiquity; and even in the earliest times one of its purposes may have been the communication of ideas or information. In a sense, therefore, picture-writing may be said to go back to a distant age almost beyond the

<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my especial indebtedness, in elaborating this, to the recent writings of M. Lacau and Professor Sethe.

ken of archaeology. But usually when we speak of writing, we mean something different from this; we mean the association of visible marks and signs with the sounds of articulate language, so that when these marks and signs are seen, a definite set of words or sentences is evoked in the spectator's mind.

Writing in this stricter sense begins to manifest itself towards the approach of the Dynastic period as an offshoot from pictorial art; in the earlier Predynastic age the hieroglyphic script is not yet differentiated from the great mass of figured representations. Thanks to the abundant evidence which we now possess with regard to the first Dynasties we are able to observe the birth of hieroglyphics taking place, as it were, under our very eyes. The great slate-palette of Narmer, found by Mr Quibell at Hierakönpölis, is of much value in this connection, and enables us to make probable conjectures concerning the actual course of events. On the *verso* of the palette (Fig. 4) there may be seen eight unmistakable hieroglyphs, two of them together forming the name of the king, while the other six doubtless qualify in some way the persons beside whom they stand. With these we are not much concerned, since their history already lies behind them; our main business is with the larger figures that occupy the central field. The scene of the Pharaoh clubbing a grovelling chieftain is one very familiar from the monuments of various periods; it occurs, for example, on the tablet of Sahurê at Sinai from which the hieroglyphic words above analysed were taken. There is no reason whatsoever for regarding this subject on the palette of Narmer otherwise than as a picture; for though it was intended as a record and to convey information, and though its general sense may be defined in a very few words, yet there is nothing to suggest any particular verbal description and the scene is therefore not writing as we have agreed to understand the term.

The group in the right-hand top corner is of a much more puzzling character; an ordinary, simple picture at all events it is not. There is nothing, indeed, unpictorial about the representation of the god Horus under the image of a falcon, but the human hand by which he grasps a rope introduces an element of symbolism which is alien to purely pictorial art. This symbolical note is still further emphasized by the bodiless head of a foreigner growing out of a cylindrical object; but we have not much trouble in concluding that the foreigner is a prisoner, and that the cylindrical object is meant to indicate his land. The six stalks with flowers, on the contrary, would altogether elude our comprehension, were it not that their signification is at once apparent to anyone with a slight knowledge of hieroglyphics; the veriest beginner could hardly fail to recognize in them the common word  *khō'* (*h'*) meaning a "thousand." Now there is nothing in the outward appearance of  to suggest the signification "thousand," and the existence of a word   *h'* for a water-plant or some such botanical object makes it obvious that this is a typical case of phonetic transference<sup>1</sup>;  means "thousand" simply because the plant it depicts was called in Egyptian by a name closely resembling the Egyptian word for "thousand." The six-fold  on the palette therefore signifies "six thousand," and the sense of the whole complex group in which it occurs may be

<sup>1</sup> See Mr Griffith's remarks in DAVIES, *The Mastaba of Probhetep and Akhetetep*, Vol. I, p. 25.

thus defined: "Horus brings to the Pharaoh<sup>1</sup> six thousand foreigners captured within their land."

The *ensemble* which centres around the falcon-shaped Horus is supplementary, therefore, to the larger figures below it on the left, and serves to explain the circumstances under which the Pharaoh is enabled to immolate his foes. It would be wide of the mark, nevertheless, to describe this *ensemble* as an early example of writing; its size and importance prohibit that view, and moreover no particular order of words



Fig. 4. The slate-palette of Narmer, *verso*



is suggested, nor yet any specific word except *kho* "thousand." On the other hand it cannot properly be ranked as a picture, since its method of expression is not that of imitative pictorial art, and since it incorporates one undeniable phonetic sign. It occupies a place, in fact, intermediate between picture and writing; it is neither the one nor the other, but possesses something in common with both. Now what to all intents and purposes is exactly the same subject is represented in magnificent sculptured relief on the walls of the funerary temple of Sahurê, where two rows of divinities

<sup>1</sup> Note that the falcon faces the Pharaoh, towards whom his action is accordingly directed.

are shown leading before the king two rows of prisoners with ropes tied to their arms and waists<sup>1</sup>. But this sculptured scene is not complete in itself; its meaning is eked out by three lines of hieroglyphic inscription, of which the most relevant line reads as follows:


Words recited: we have given to thee all the western and the eastern deserts, together with all the nomads and all the Beduin who are in every desert.

Here we have the last step in the development towards which the group on the palette of Narmer unmistakably points: the differentiation of two complementary forms of expression, the one definitely pictorial and the other definitely writing. The combination of hieroglyphic inscriptions and pictorial representations is extremely frequent on Egyptian monuments, and is accounted for by the common origin of both and by the fact that they have not yet drifted so far apart as to be incompatible side by side with one another. Hieroglyphic writing is, after all, merely a sequence of small pictures with special meanings attached to them; and, on the other hand, Egyptian pictorial art shows analogies with the methods of writing which are both striking and significant, though they have not been as often pointed out as they deserve<sup>2</sup>.




















































































































































































































































































































































































It is doubtful whether the predecessors of Narmer had ever succeeded in making any closer approach to the writing of a sentence than in the group of symbols which we have here discussed at length. Hieroglyphic writing proper was until this moment confined to the ticketing of depicted objects and the like. Contrary to the view which is ordinarily taken, it is probable that the earliest hieroglyphs (miniature pictures used to express words or parts of words) were phonetic, and not ideographic in character; the necessity for such miniature signs arose only where ordinary pictures were powerless to convey the intended meaning, that is to say where it became needful to seek the aid of the sounds of language. Regular *rebus*-groups were very possibly the first true hieroglyphs. Among the real hieroglyphs of the slate-palette of Narmer there is very little that is intelligible, but at any rate the two signs that compose the name of Narmer (or however they are to be read) are phonetic, if only for the reason that they indicate a name<sup>3</sup>. It is possible too that the signs  beside the kneeling captive are to be read as his name *Wa'shi*, the harpoon reading *wa'* (*u'*) and the lake-sign *shi* (*š*)<sup>4</sup>. On the *recto* of the palette there is at least one indisputable group, namely that consisting of the two hieroglyphs  over the head of the official who

<sup>1</sup> See BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sakhwē*, Vol. II, Pl. 5, and the very instructive comments thereupon, *ibid.* p. 18, where the correct explanation of the group on the slate-palette is given for the first time. ERMAN (*Aeg. Gram.* § 16) was the first to point out the importance of this group as a landmark in the history of writing, but wrongly interprets the falcon as meaning the Pharaoh, and not quite correctly qualifies the whole as an example of early writing.

<sup>2</sup> See BORCHARDT, *op. cit.* p. 5; and in rather greater detail, DAVIES-GARDINER, *The Tomb of Amenemhat*, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible the name of Narmer might mean "the.....war-fish," in the same way as the next king was named  *Iho* "the fighter." As belonging to names, however, the signs involved must clearly be phonetic.

<sup>4</sup> E. Meyer (following Sethe) thinks that this group gives the names of the seventh nome of Lower Egypt, which accordingly would be the home of the chieftain in question. This view seems to me highly improbable, as it fails to explain the lake-sign, cf. SIERCK, *Uebungen* t. I. for the early writing of this name.

marches beside the king. These have been explained as spelling *Thuty*
(
























































































































































































































































































































## LETTERS OF CHAMPOLLION LE JEUNE AND OF SEYFFARTH TO SIR WILLIAM GELL

WITH PREFACE BY H. R. HALL, M.A., F.S.A.

THE two letters of Champollion and one of Seyffarth that are printed below have been found among some literary MSS. of the late Sir William Gell (Byron's "classic Gell"), the well-known amateur antiquary, which were left with Sir Charles Newton at the British Museum many years ago by Sir William's great friend and literary executor, the Hon. Keppel Craven, and have since remained in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. I am indebted for my knowledge of them to Mr Arthur H. Smith, the present Keeper, and as they are unpublished, it seemed to me that, in view of their interest to Egyptological students, they should be made known. The collection comprises also letters on Egyptological subjects from the late Sir (then Mr) James Gardner Wilkinson, from Salt, from Bunsen, and from James Burton, besides epistles on purely classical matters from various *savans* of the day, Gall, Barbé du Bocage, Lambert, Kruse, and others. These last do not concern us, and in any case they have none of the interest of the Egyptological communications, most of which are decidedly worth printing. These will appear in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, beginning in this number with the two from Champollion and the one from the unhappily misguided Seyffarth. In this Seyffarth describes his supposed discovery of the Turin Papyrus (Champollion had really discovered it already) and his unlucky mending of it, and girds at the "Champollionistes" for their ridicule of his hieroglyphical "system." Champollion's letters are on more general subjects. He writes on his return from Italy, where he had made Gell's acquaintance. He describes his hard work in the arrangement of the Egyptian Museum of the Louvre (the Musée Charles X), which resulted in the publication of the first scientific guide to an Egyptian Museum, written in accordance with the new knowledge (the *Notice Descriptive des Monuments*). This work had to be completed before he could be permitted to set out on his remarkable journey to Egypt. On this journey he had hoped that Gell would be able to accompany him; evidently Gell had provisionally accepted when they met in Italy. From a letter from Wilkinson, then in Egypt, we see that the latter expected him: Gell must have told him that he was coming. But he never went. Possibly Champollion's large company offended his fastidious soul, or his gout was too bad, and he said he could not afford the journey<sup>1</sup>. That he would have liked to have gone is evident. His interest in Egyptian antiquities was considerable, and he saw clearly enough that

<sup>1</sup> HALLSTADEN, *Champollion*, p. 128, n. 2.

something was really being attained in the direction of the decipherment of the hieroglyphs. Further, Champollion speaks of his quarrel with Young, declaring his willingness to work with him in future and provide him with any documents he needed wherewith to pursue his researches<sup>1</sup>. One regrets that there are no letters from Young; but as we have several in Mr Leitch's collection, we know something of Gell's correspondence with him. Gell started with the study of Young's work, and then passed on to that of Champollion, but his belief in Champollion did not carry the older man along with him. Young, who could justly say of himself and Champollion *fortemque ad fortia missi*, could not follow the Frenchman's logic, and distrusted him personally. Gell evidently deplored the quarrel between the two men, and tried to reconcile them. He extended his hospitality to all, as we see from the fact that Seyffarth recounts his grievances to him with the certainty of being heard, and with the great probability that his complaints would be brought by his correspondent to Champollion's notice. But there was no effecting any collaboration with Seyffarth: his views were not only too divergent from those of Champollion but were also suspect of charlatanism or madness: "either a goose or an impostor," Gell calls him in a letter to Young<sup>2</sup>. With Young the case might have been different. However, with these matters we have nowadays little concern, and if we had new letters from Young it might perhaps have been unwise to revive an old controversy by printing them. Seyffarth was so entirely wrong that his complaints have merely a historical interest.

The original spelling, accentuation, and punctuation of the writers has been preserved as far as possible. Champollion was often vague as to accents.

One of the letters from Champollion, that dated September, 1827, has already been mentioned in the literature of the subject, but not yet printed *in extenso*. On page 113, note 3, of her life of Champollion, Mlle. Hartleben mentions a letter of this date from Champollion to Gell as referred to in the *Revue de Bibliographie Analytique* for 1842<sup>3</sup>. As there is no copy of this scarce French periodical (for that year) in the British Museum Library, I referred the passage to M. Charles de la Roncière, the distinguished Keeper of Printed Books in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris, who was good enough to look it up for me, and to communicate its contents in the subjoined letter:

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE,  
PARIS.

le 16 Janvier, 1915.

Monsieur ET CHER COLLEGE,

L'article qui vous intéresse dans la *Revue de bibliographie analytique* de Miller et Aubenas (T. III, 1842, pp. 648-666), est de J.-J. Champollion-Figeac. Il est consacré à l'ouvrage d'Ungerelli intitulé *Interpretatio Obeliscorum Urbis ad Gregorium XVI Pontificem Maximum digesta*, per Alisium Mariam Ungerellum. Rome, 1842, in-fol. J.-J. Champollion-Figeac, dans la critique de l'ouvrage d'Ungerelli, est amené à en faire de copieuses citations. C'est dans l'une de ces citations qu'il est question de la lettre de Champollion à Gell.

<sup>1</sup> On the previous day, Sept. 11, 1827, Champollion had written a polite letter to Young (published by Leitch, *Works of Dr Young*, iii. p. 432), in which he offered to place any documents he wished at his disposal for study.

<sup>2</sup> Leitch, *op. cit.* p. 422 (May 30, 1827).

<sup>3</sup> "Im September 1827 fu einem Brief an Sir Gell (sic) bestätigt.—Siehe hierzu die *Revue bibliogr. et analyt.* (sic) 1842, p. 648-666."

Des dessins des obélisques de Naples et Bénévent, Champollion attendait une nouvelle épreuve afin "disait-il de mettre la dernière main au texte explicatif qu'il composait, mais en réalité (affirme M. Ungarelli) il ne l'avait point commencé, ainsi qu'en conviennent très positivement des amis habitués chez lui à Paris. Et quand il écrivait l'année précédente, au mois de Mai 1827, à Dominique Testa qu'il s'occupait alors de l'interprétation des obélisques, quand il le répétait au chevalier Gell, dans le mois de Septembre suivant, il faut juger de ces assertions d'après le caractère de l'homme, qui avait l'habitude de dire souvent, de répéter qu'il exécutait ce qui n'était encore que ruminé en projet dans son esprit."

Ce passage, entre guillemets, dans l'article de Champollion-Figeac, est emprunté à Ungarelli et fait l'objet d'une sévère critique du frère de l'Égyptologue.


Je crois, Monsieur et cher collègue, que l'intéressante lettre que vous avez entre les mains, est vierge d'impression....

Veuillez agréer, etc.

CH. DE LA RONCIÈRE,

*Conservateur des Imprimés*

From this the identity of the letter mentioned by Champollion-Figeac and by Mlle. Hartleben with that transcribed below is evident. The other seems to be unknown.

The letters from Wilkinson will be printed in the next number of the *Journal*. Their interest is considerable, as showing that Wilkinson's presence on the spot in Egypt had enabled him before Champollion's arrival to detect important errors in the latter's placing of some of the royal names in his list in the *Précis* (pp. vi ff.). The cardinal error of the placing of Senusert I in the XXIIIrd Dynasty was at once seen by Wilkinson, whose study of the lists of Abydos and Karnak of course gave him a considerable advantage over Champollion, which the latter could not correct till his own arrival on the spot. We see how ardently, too, Wilkinson collected royal names in the Theban tombs, and how generally correct his idea of the XVIIIth Dynasty was. Already in 1826 too he had identified Sabaco (Shabak), Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, and had noted Champollion's error in reading a goose instead of a "hawk" (really an eagle ) in the name of Beronike. But he sometimes goes wrong, for instance over the Ptolemies, and his speculations on philological matters were often unlucky. His studies were of course based entirely on Champollion's work. We may comment more fully on his letters when we come to publish them. The single letter from Burton we shall not publish, as it refers only to a dispute between himself and Champollion about the priority of discovery of an inscription at Cairo (*Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, Pl. LIV), which it would be unprofitable to revive<sup>1</sup>. The letters of Salt and of Bunsen have their interest as showing the industrious way in which Gell collected opinions from every side, though of course their ideas never were of much value. Salt essayed an unlucky venture of his own into the realm of decipherment, on which Wilkinson comments unkindly<sup>2</sup>. Bunsen's Egyptology was then even more second-hand than Gell's: he appears as the earnest seeker after information, who does not always understand what has been told him by his learned friend at Naples.

Gell acted for a time as a sort of Egyptological clearing-house. He gathered ideas from all sides, and communicated everybody's discoveries to everybody else with

<sup>1</sup> The matter is referred to in LAYTON, *Works of Dr Young*, iii. p. 442 note. Champollion seems to have been careless of Burton's priority, at any rate.

<sup>2</sup> As did Gell also (LAYTON, *ib.* p. 382).

the best of intentions and often, no doubt, the best of results. Wilkinson copies an inscription, essays an absolutely wrong "translation" of it himself, and sends both (Dec. 4, 1826) to Gell, who promptly passes the inscription on to Champollion and to Young<sup>1</sup>, unknown to one another. Champollion returns what we see is in spite of his diffidence ("que sais-je?") practically the correct interpretation (p. 86). Young's answer is recorded by Leitch, if he ever made one. In the same letter of Dec. 4, 1826, Wilkinson communicates to Gell his discovery of the hieroglyphic form of the name of Artaxerxes. This Gell also communicated to Champollion (whose comment we see below) and Young. To the latter he writes under date of 18th March, 1827; "I now see that for want of room I must transfer to the next page my Artaxerxes, premising that Wilkinson is the discoverer, and to him the glory is due, and it should be published soon that somebody else may not claim it, for I glory in communicating all the new discoveries, and take no merit from keeping secrets which are only valuable when divulged, though I always stipulate for the discoverer's honour and his rights. *Eccolo qua*—" and he then proceeds to copy out Wilkinson's hieroglyphs, fairly correctly<sup>2</sup>. In a later letter he communicates to Young Champollion's remarks to him on the determinatives (in the letter of Sept. 12, 1827; below, p. 85):  $\overline{\text{gan}}$  Apis,  $\overline{\text{pip}}$  the pig,  $\overline{\text{egat}}$  the sow,  $\overline{\text{hax}}$  the hawk, and so on. Gell copies Champollion's hieroglyphs rather badly, and puts the cart before the horse in reproducing Champollion's hieroglyphic form of  $\overline{\text{egat}}$  as  $\overline{\text{hax}}$   $\overline{\text{pip}}$   $\overline{\text{gan}}$ . Evidently he was not treading on firm ground.

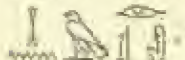
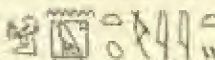
Lord Prudhoe and Major Felix, on their return from Nubia in 1829, came to see him and no doubt tell him about the trouble between Champollion and Burton, and Wilkinson's irritation with the former over the matter of Burton's inscription, referred to above. The courtly Baron de Bunsen begs for an introduction to these distinguished travellers when they shall arrive in Rome. Gell forgets to give it, or they do not present it, so Bunsen goes to interview them at their hotel, and is much chagrined to find them already gone; when next such travellers come to Rome he begs Sir William not to forget him again. Naturally in those days travellers who had been to Nubia were *raree aves*, and Bunsen was really interested in Nubia; it was inconsiderate on Gell's part. At Naples, where he lived from 1820 till his death in 1836, Sir William received all lovers of antiquity with a distinguished politeness and interest, which was the more charming because, as was well known, he was tormented by terrible attacks of the gout, which in the case of most people did not contribute to distinction or urbanity of manner. In spite of it, he was the centre of the antiquarianism of the day at Naples, and was known as the "resident plenipotentiary" of the Society of Dilettanti in Italy. All comers to Naples who desired to "do" the antiquities had to be presented to him, if (of course) they were persons of quality or at least (if English) members of an University: interesting foreigners no doubt had *free entrée*. So he came to know Champollion and everybody else. But amateur though he was, his interest in archaeological matters was genuine, and that he was both catholic in his taste and intelligent is shewn by his acceptance of and interest in both Champollion and Wilkinson. And that they found him a profitable correspondent (when he did write) is shewn by the length and the familiar terms of their letters to him. Both


<sup>1</sup> LITTLE, *op. cit.* p. 409.


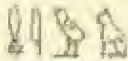





<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 407.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 460.

address him even affectionately: "great Image of Re," "most powerful Anonrasenher," "most excellent Anlus" (sc. Gellius) Wilkinson calls him, and Champollion invokes him in his beautifully written hieroglyphs as the "brother of Horus and Isis"

 as the "beloved nurse of Hathor" 

In more detailed commentary on Champollion's letters we note that the Egyptian Museum of the Louvre still occupies the rooms which he indicates in his first epistle. His combats with the "Hyksos" and *Sebia* (, "enemies" (he translates "Impurs") who tried to prevent the realization of his Egyptian Museum, and with the hosts of the absurd Kircher's descendants, Klaproth, Lanci, Köller, Ungarelli, Gouliano (whom he calls Giubiano), Seyffarth, *et hoc genus omne*, will be found described in detail in Mlle. Hartleben's most interesting "life," *Champollion, sein Leben und sein Werk*. We have no space to describe the struggle again here, nor is there any need to do so. But those who are unfamiliar with the comic attempts at decipherment of the enemies of Champollion and Young may be advised that they will be able to obtain some amusement from the strange works of Lanci and of Seyffarth: the latter made Egyptian out to be a more hideous tongue than Tibetan or the speech of Brobdingnag or Laputa. He read one cartouche as "Ischre Nepo Nllame"; so Champollion dubs him by this weird name (p. 85). The phrase "Triumvir-désigné" refers to Seyffarth's proposal that he should form the third of an Egyptological triumvirate, composed of Young, Champollion, and himself. Later on, with fine catholicity and equal ignorance, he proposed to add Salt to the triumvirate.

Champollion's notes on words and signs for the *Dictionnaire* are often interesting, and were, naturally, at that time not always correct: thus he reads  as *sh*, and  *min*, cat, as "*sheu*"; and thought that  = *a* purely and simply. In the second letter he recognizes  as a determinative; and his account of his views on the determinative signs are very interesting. His translation of  (*sic* ? ) as "le Soleil des Chefs" did not survive, and his views of Ammon and Horus as the A and Ω of Egyptian religion are remarkable. The compound deity Amon-Horus or Chem (Khem), as Wilkinson was the first to read it (we now know that his name sign , and reads Menn or Min, written in Greek versions of Egyptian names in which it occurs as *-menes*), was for him that of a "complex divinity containing the whole circle, the totality, the Παρ of Egyptian divinities, who are all simply modifications of Ammon (Alpha), finishing by the last of all, Horus (Ω), who is confused with Alpha and completes the mystic circle." He adds: "Je ne sais si je me fais comprendre." One hopes that Gell understood better than we do.

A pardonable error is noticeable with the name of Sebekhetep (correctly read by him Sevekôtheph), which Salt had taken for Sabaco: he makes it = Sevechos or Sebichos, his successor, whom we now know to be Shabatak. Champollion was unfortunate with the Ethiopians: his erroneous placing of Sennusert (Osartasen) I among them has already





been noticed as exposed by Wilkinson. But, as we shall see, the pundits in Italy were by no means inclined to accept Wilkinson's correction of the great man at first: Bunsen was much troubled on the subject.

The matter of the publication of the Roman obelisks, the proofs of which only Gell could correct, being in Italy, has already been treated in M. de la Roncière's letter, above.

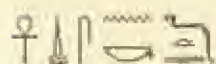
I have not been able to devote any time to the identification of the "Lady Mary" to whom Champollion sends such respectful messages: perhaps some of our readers can tell us who she was.

Seyffarth's letter is written in not always impeccable Italian: apparently he did not realize that his correspondent, though he could probably not talk German, could read it easily enough: there are several German letters in his correspondence, and he was elected a corresponding member of the *Thüringisch-Sächsische Verein für Erforschung des vaterländischen Alterthumes* of Halle. But perhaps the Triumvir was proud of his Italian.



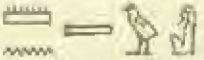
The letters of Salt and Bunsen will follow with those of Wilkinson in the next number of the *Journal*.

H. R. HALL.

I.




























PARIS le 4 Février 1826.

Recevez vous cette lettre, mon cher  avec le sourire gracieux de la divine Athôr lorsqu'elle voit le dieu Phtha boiter un peu moins qu'à l'ordinaire! Il y a longtemps que, selon mon cœur, j'aurais dû vous écrire; je pourrais alléguer ici une raison que vous sentiriez bien mieux que tout autre, la goutte, qui m'a fait une visite aussitôt que j'ai eu perdu de vue les campagnes d'Ausonie. Elle me retint 15 jours à Grenoble, et m'empêcha d'arriver aussi vite à Paris que les interets des dieux et des pharaons paraissent l'exiger. J'y suis cependant venu à la fin de Novembre, assez à temps pour arrêter les entreprises des *Hykschos* et des  (*ciocq*) *Impurs* qui manœuvraient pour faire refuser au Louvre une place digne de toute la majesté Egyptienne: J'ai obtenu tout ce que je voulais: le Rez de chaussée du Louvre, sous la colonnade, recevra mes grandes pièces et le premier étage du côté du pont des arts renfermera les petits objets Egyptiens dans quatre Salles magnifiques. Voilà donc enfin un Musée Egyptien dans toutes les règles: Je suis entouré pour 8 mois encore de Maçons, de Peintres, de mouleurs, d'Ebenistes, de vitriers, de marbriers et de Bronziers, mais avec l'aide d'Amon-Ra et de notre Apollon  au bec crochu, je ne perdrai pas la tête et mon Musée sera ouvert avant la fin de cette année.
















C'est le 4 de Novembre que je serai libre de partir pour les rives désirées du Nil: et je compte qu'avant le mois de Juillet prochain ce voyage là sera consenti, réglé et définitivement arrêté par mon gouvernement: je vous tiendrai au courant de mes démarches pour que nous puissions combiner la part qu'il vous conviendrait de prendre à la noble entreprise. Si le desir que les dieux de l'Egypte vous ont inspiré

de les visiter dans leurs temples subsiste encore; j'espère que *la terre promise* ne prévaudra point, et que Jérusalem ne l'emportera pas plus aujourd'hui sur Thèbes, que dans les temps de leur splendeur mutuelle. D'ailleurs vous pourriez aller en Syrie à notre retour d'Égypte et je serais bien aise de vous y suivre attiré, comme vous le pensez bien, par le monument de Ramsès à Nahhar-el-Kelb.

N'avez vous point été ébranlé par les doctes arguments de Lanci contre nos hiéroglyphes? Il faut avouer que ce garçon là joue bien de malheur! ce que je connais de plus bouffon et de plus ridicule au monde est son explication du prétendu *Scarabée Phénico-Egyptien* du pauvre général Köller; le dit scarabée n'est pas plus Phénicien que je ne suis Carthaginois: c'est tout bonnement un bel et bon Scarabée Egyptien orné d'une Inscription en caractères hiéroglyphiques linéaires, et que Lanci a lu de travers en le regardant dans ce sens  au lieu de le regarder dans celui-ci  que est le véritable, comme le démontrent et la tête de l'animal et la position des 2 derniers hiéroglyphes   (raoꝓ) parfaitement reconnaissables dans la mauvaise gravure qu'il a donnée d'un monument qu'il n'était nullement préparé à regarder. La prétendue Inscription Phénicienne est la légende hiéroglyphique suivante                        



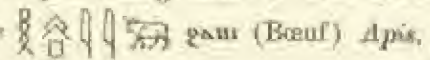

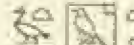


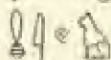
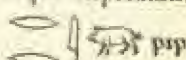

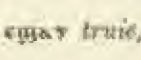



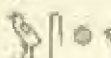
pareil, également,  [.]  et mesuré, égal, de même mesure et               

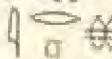
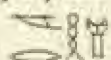
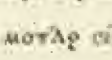
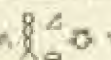
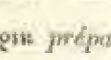
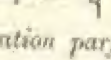
Egyptien ne fut terminée par moi. En cela on a eu toute raison et il n'y avait pas moyen de décliner une prétention si juste. Vous savez que je suis disposé à rendre justice entière au Dr. Young et ce n'est pas moi qui remuerai jamais cette querelle littéraire, qu'il eût mieux valu laisser suivre par les intéressés eux mêmes. Ce sont les journalistes seuls qui l'ont envenimée. Pour moi je n'en pense plus et suis tout disposé à reprendre avec Mr. Young qui le premier a cessé d'avoir des relations de correspondance avec moi, tous les anciens rapports d'amitié que je lui avais voués. La science ne pourrait que gagner à ce bon accord; et je viens de faire le premier pas en lui écrivant hier pour lui offrir mes services à Paris et lui procurer les calques ou dessins de monuments qui peuvent l'intéresser. Il ne tient qu'à lui de nous retrouver sur l'ancien pied et vous me rendrez toute justice si la chose ne tourne point comme je le souhaite dans la sincérité de mon cœur—. Basta così.

Vous trouverez à Rome les Epreuves des obélisques que j'ai corrigées et renvoyées avec force notes et indications que vous seul pouvez faire exécuter. Je vous prie de donner un peu de votre temps à cette affaire et de surveiller les corrections indispensables que j'ai indiquées. En attendant je m'occupe du texte. J'ai envoyé aussi le dessin des deux obélisques de Bénévot et comme je veux parler de notre voyage, envoyez moi dans votre première lettre les noms et les titres de Lady Mary dont je ne connais bien à fond que la bonté tout aimable, l'urbanité attique et l'indulgent intérêt qu'elle a bien voulu me témoigner. Donnez moi aussi les noms et qualités de l'excellent Baron d'Uxkull notre bon et feal compagnon de voyage. Quant à vous, je vous salue par cœur, et je ne vous demande rien.

Je crois vous avoir dit que je couronne le peu de temps qui me reste de libre à la rédaction du *Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique*; il présente déjà un volume fort respectable. Ce travail m'a jetté dans les matériaux que j'ai recueillis pendant mon séjour en Italie; je les dépouille à fond et il en est résulté des notions toutes nouvelles et d'une haute importance; je ne vous parlerai ici en passant que des *déterminatifs* dont j'avais bien entrevu la théorie mais que j'étais loin de croire aussi entendue qu'elle l'est réellement: c'est un point très capital pour notre avancement dans l'écriture sacrée.





















Les caractères déterminatifs sont de plusieurs genres; 1°. Les uns sont des déterminatifs qui j'appelle d'espèce tels que  *gaur* (Bœuf) *Apis*,  *nisuc Pétékhons* (homme),  *senhathyr* (femme).




2°. Les *déterminatifs figuratifs* qui se placent après le groupe phonétique exprimant le nom même de l'objet qu'ils représentent comme  *chat*,  *pigeon*,  *cochon*,  *trou*,  *épervier*,  *crocodile*,  *lotus*,  *collier* (copte *gac*), etc., etc.


















3°. Les *déterminatifs d'idée*, nom provisoire, de certains déterminatifs très fréquents qui se placent à la suite de la plupart des groupes phonétiques pour en fixer la prononciation et le sens parcequ'ils représentent un objet en rapport avec l'idée exprimée par le groupe phonétique qu'ils déterminent. Exemples:  *vin*,  *lait*,  *cercle*,  *préparation parfumée*,  *philtre*,  *remède*. Les





déterminatifs sont les vases , , ,  de forme particulière dans les quels on renfermait le vin, le lait, la cire, &c., &c. Le caractère  ou  eau détermine le sens des groupes   ou              

représenter un *sceau* (sigillum), ce qui ramène naturellement la pensée sur le verbe arabe  *khatam*, *sceller*, *cacheter*, *sigillare*. Mais tout cela peut être un effet du hasard et il se peut que le verbe arabe ne soit point d'origine Egyptienne. Je n'y crois donc pas.  indique une *demeure*, un *Maison*;  signifie *porter*, ce qui *rapporte*, *revenu*, *produit*.

Les deux autres groupes,  et  commencent par l'article , *ra*, celle qui est en, qui appartient   *d*, *portion de*. Le groupe  *rai* n'existe pas dans le dictionnaire   *copte* et si  est article ou marque de genre,  se rapporterait au   *copte* *non surgere*, *assurgere*. Quant à , il signifie *l'eau*; le dernier , le plan d'un *Bassin*, n'étant que déterminatif. Le groupe  est un nom d'établissement public.  se trouve souvent employé comme *Coudée*, *mesure*, et symboliquement pour *Justice*.  signifierait dans ce sens *Maison de la coudée*, *Maison de la Mesure* (Nilomètre ?), que sais-je ? Mettez moi même d'en savoir davantage et ce sera une *œuvre pie*.

Adieu donc : donnez moi vite de mes (*sic*) nouvelles ; et écrivez moi plus souvent. Si vous saviez combien d'affaires j'ai sur le corps, vous me pardonneriez d'être si lent à écrire et vous me dédomageriez (*sic*) par vos lettres de toutes les tracaseries que je souffre pour notre Egypte. Ne m'oubliez pas et que le grand Amon-Ra vous délivre de la goutte !

Tout à vous de cœur,

J. F. CHAMPOLLION LE J.

### III.

Torino,  
6 Giugno, 1827.

PREGHIO MIO SIGNORE,

Col sommo dispiacere son partito da Napoli senza aver preso congedo da Lei. Da molto tempo era dunque il mio dovere di significarli, quanto io sia obbligato alla sua bontà e liberalità con cui Ella me ha ricevuto. Ma aspettando la pubblicazione del mio libretto ed una occasione a mandarlo, non ho potuto prima palesare con due righe il mio sentimento, il perchè La prego, di scusarmi un poco. Che voglia riguardare l'aggiunto libretto come un segno quantunque vile della profonda stima ed amicizia, che ho sempre professato per Lei.

Ella sarà sorpresa di vedermi ancora qui a Torino. Ma nel museo egizio trovo tutti giorni tante belle ed interessanti cose, che laborando quasi ogni giorno per 10 ed anche 12 ore di seguito non ho potuto ancora terminare miei lavori (*sic*). Lasciò tante altre scoperte, da cui diedi alcune notizie al Sig. Kestner e Platner, parlando sopra un papiro, che avrà anche per Lei alcun interesse. M'incontrai in una cassa piena di mille mille pezzi di papiro, i quali di gran parte cercai di mettere insieme. Così ho riparato un papiro, che contiene diverse dinastie egiziane di seguito. A canto di ciascun ne sono marcati gli anni, i mesi ed i giorni del suo regno, cosa senza dubbio

Torino 8 Giugno 1827

Mio mio Signor

Col fummo dispiacere son partito da Napoli  
senza aver preso congedo da Lei. In molto tempo  
era dunque il mio dovere di significarle, quanto io  
sia obbligato alla sua bontà e liberalità con cui l'ha  
ma ha ricevuto. Ma aspettando la pubblicazione del  
mio libretto Ed una occasione a mandarlo, non ho potuto  
prima palesare con due righe il mio sentimento, il  
perchè la prego, di scusarmi un poco. Che voglia

\* \* \* \* \*

che la sua salute sia stata conservata ed aumentata e che  
voglia conservarmi la sua bontà ed amicizia. Io sarò sempre  
con una sua stima e sincerità con tutto l'ossequio

Suo feroce ed amico  
Gi. G. Leptor.



importantissima per la storia. Si può guardare questo monumento come il primo fondamento della storia egizia, poichè si determinava il tempo secondo gli anni de' re e non si conosceva ancora la perfetta successione dei governatori d' Egitto. Credendo che lo sarà interessante per Lei, mando la copia di alcuni pezzi per il suo uso. Nella stessa cassa trovasi anche più di cento nomi reali, da cui forse la maggior parte non sarà reduta da nissuno (*sic*). Ho l'intensione di pubblicare, quando sarò di ritorno, tutti quanti sono finora trovati nomi reali e per me farsi un gran piacere, se avessi potuto copiare alcuni nomi della sua collezione. Ma non so però se Lei permetterà la pubblicazione. Tuttavia sarò obligatissimo, se Lei avrà la bontà di procurarmi nomi reali non conosciuti (*sic*) della sua collezione interessantissima. Parla anche Champollion di iscrizioni (*sic*) bilingui copiati nel suo museo. Forse Ella avrà la bontà e liberalità di darmi alcuna notizia anche sopra di queste iscrizioni.

Tra un mese partirò da qui per Parigi (*sic*), dove avrò di trattenermi almeno due mesi, poi vado a Londra. Sò potrò servirla in qualche cosa, per me sarà il summo piacere.

Dr. Yung (*sic*) ha fatto una recensione del mio sistema geroglifico sul Riv[ista], con cui, essendo ella molto onorifica, sebbene non [illegibile] tutti punti della mia teoria, io potrò essere contento.

I Francesi non cessano di parlar male sopra di me, cantando sempre la stessa melodia p. e. che io abbia fatto un inno al sole di un contratto, cosa nel cervello di Champ. Figeac nata! Recentamente un ufficiale ha tradotto l'opera di Salt con belle espressioni sopra di me nella prefazione, senza aver letto una sola riga del mio sistema. Nello stesso libro intanto si trova anche una iscrizione bilingue, che il sistema di Champollion non può e non potrà mai spiegare. Avendo io dato e predeterminato tutte le lettere, che compongono questa iscrizione, pubblicherò forse qualche cosa a Parigi contra l'autore detto.

Ma non posso ch'aggiungere il desiderio del mio cuore, che la sua salute sia stato conservata ed aumentata e che voglia conservarmi la sua bontà ed amicizia. Io sarò sempre con una vera stima e sincerità con tutto l'ossequio

Suo servo ed amico,

Dr. G. SEYFFARTH.

Al Sigr. illustriss.

Il Sigr. Cav. Gell,  
Roma.

## THE ART OF THE PREDYNASTIC PERIOD<sup>1</sup>

By T. ERIC PEET, B.A.

Two of the most distinctive features of Egyptian art throughout its history are its effective use of line and its decorative value. By the first we mean that the Egyptian artist in his drawing made use of lines and curves which in themselves are capable of producing a pleasurable impression on the beholder, though it would be difficult or even impossible to explain why they do so. This feature of Egyptian art is evident to everyone who will examine a few typical specimens of good Egyptian drawing, painting or relief. In the famous reliefs of the north wall of the Seti temple at Abydos, for example, there is much stiffness and conventionality, much that is incorrect, in the rendering of the human form especially, yet the whole has a wonderfully pleasurable effect on the eye. This is due partly to the delicacy of the low relief, but still more to this subtilty of line of which we are speaking. The curves of the body are not anatomically correct but they have a charm and grace which is even more important. They arrest the eye and in the same instant give it repose. This is a characteristic which Egyptian art possesses in common with that of Japan and that of China.

By the second feature, the decorative value of this art, we mean that an Egyptian artist, whether confronted with a temple wall or a mere knife handle for decoration, showed the greatest skill in adapting the means at his disposal to the end in view. It is possible to draw much better than the average Egyptian artist, but it would hardly be possible to cover a given space with drawing in a more effective manner than he did. The roof of the Sistine Chapel is doubtless unsurpassed as a piece of decoration, and the technique of the various scenes and figures is, in the eyes of some at least, beyond criticism. The Egyptian could not render life as perfectly as Michel Angelo did, nor could he approach his colour schemes and his chiaroscuro, but he was not far behind him in the conception of a decorative scheme to suit a given space. For evidence of this we need only go to the meanest of the painted private tombs of Thebes, Meir or Beni Hasan.

These two characteristics, long recognized in the well known art of the Middle Kingdom and the New Empire, can now be traced back through the Old Kingdom into the obscure depths of the predynastic period. Twenty years ago our knowledge of Egyptian art began with the IVth Dynasty. It was plain that even then work was being produced in Egypt which later ages would have difficulty in surpassing, and indeed there are many of us who can find little or nothing in later Egyptian art to

<sup>1</sup> This article is the substance of a lecture delivered on November 10, 1914, before the Fund.

compare with the Sheikh el Beled or the squatting scribe of the Louvre. This wonderful manifestation of art could not be the product of a decade or even of a century, and it was only to be expected that the progress of excavation would bring us face to face with some at least of the earlier steps in its evolution. And so indeed it was. The discovery of the statue of Khasekhem at Hierakonpolis showed us what the royal sculptor could accomplish in the II<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, and the stela of the Serpent King took us back to the I<sup>st</sup>, while a series of predynastic discoveries still continues to furnish us with works of art of an even earlier date.

It is with these predynastic examples of art that we are here concerned. We need hardly attempt to precise their age. The general consensus of opinion now favours an approximate date of 3400 B.C. for the beginning of the I<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, and the works of which we speak are consequently earlier than this, though how much earlier the most ancient of them are is a point on which even conjecture is futile. Some would say two thousand years, others two hundred. However this may be, we are able by means of Petrie's Sequence Dating<sup>1</sup> to attribute relative dates to many of the predynastic works of art and so to watch the progress made during the period.

The artist in the narrower sense of the term produces his effects by two means, colour and form. For purposes of convenience in arrangement we shall here divide his products into two types, those which give pleasure by their own shape or colouring, and those which please by reason of some kind of ornament or decoration which is applied to them quite apart from their own colour, form or function. Naturally this is not a division based deep in the nature of things, and the two classes must frequently overlap and cross; it will however give us a useful classification of works of art for our present purpose. To the first class belong of course unornamented vases in pottery or stone and all objects sculptured or modelled in the round. The latter class includes vases of pottery with painted decoration, knife handles and combs covered with relief work, or tomb chambers ornamented with painted scenes.

Beginning with objects of the first class we may remark at once the excellent appreciation of colour as a decorative element displayed by the predynastic people from the moment of their appearance in the Nile valley. Careful excavation of their tombs frequently reveals around the neck of a child or woman a string of beads. Often these are of the beautiful light blue glaze of which these people already possessed the secret; occasionally these are made to alternate with beads of an equally beautiful transparent carnelian; occasionally, too, there is still greater variety, and beads made of various stones, all chosen for their beauty of colour, have been carefully strung in a manner which makes excellent use of their contrasts. This appreciation of colour is seen too in the earliest pottery, which is often covered with a slip of red haematite and then polished. This in itself gave a very pleasing body colour to the vase, and if variety were desired it could be obtained by so firing the vessel that the rim became subject to the reducing flame, whereupon it lost a portion of its oxygen and was reduced to the magnetic oxide of iron, which is black, the main portion

<sup>1</sup> Whatever doubt may be thrown on the accuracy of this method of dating by the excessive claims occasionally made for it, the fact remains that those who are in the habit of studying closely large quantities of predynastic material find it, if judiciously applied, a good rough criterion of relative date, every new class of object studied bearing out its accuracy and value.

of the vase remaining red<sup>1</sup>. A similar regard to colour was shown in the choosing of stones for the making of stone vases, those being most frequently chosen which when cut and polished gave the most effective colour and surface. As regards form, the shapes of these early vases, made without the use of the potter's wheel, were rarely approached by the later Egyptians and have never been surpassed by any other people.

The most striking objects of this first class and those which give us the best opportunity of judging the artistic capabilities of their makers are those which strive to reproduce in the round the forms of objects in nature itself. Here we have the beginnings of modelling and sculpture. In several graves of the early predynastic period models in clay of various animals, such as oxen (Pl. XII, fig. 1) and hippopotami, have been found. These are not as a whole productions of very great merit; among the best are the hippopotami which stand on the rim of a bowl (Pl. XII, fig. 2) found by Ayrton and Loat for the Fund at El Mahasna a few years ago<sup>2</sup>. Models of boats also occur and at El Amrah MacIver found while working for the Fund a model of a house which renders very clearly the main features of the structure.

Of greater interest perhaps are the attempts to render the human figure. The most striking among these are the stentopygous female figures modelled in clay, of which the best known examples were found at Naqada. The abnormal thickening of the thighs in these statuettes is not to be attributed to the incapacity of the artist but is an intentional deformation found also in early statuettes from France, Malta, Thessaly and elsewhere. Side by side with this type of figure there seems to have existed in the early predynastic era another type of which the ivory figurine found by Ayrton for the Fund at El Mahasna (Pl. XII, fig. 3) is a good example<sup>3</sup>. The defects of this, partly perhaps due to the comparative toughness of the material (ivory), are evident. It is stiff, preternaturally elongated and rectangular. It compares closely with the famous Min statues found by Petrie at Coptos and the similar figure from Hierakonpolis, and suggests that these first efforts at sculpture in stone should be attributed to quite an early period<sup>4</sup>.

If we wish to see the enormous strides which sculpture made before the end of the predynastic period we need only confront the objects just discussed with the Hierakonpolis ivories<sup>5</sup> and the earliest finds from the Royal Tombs at Abydos. The Mahasna figurine is positively barbaric by the side of those of Hierakonpolis (e.g. Pl. XIII, fig. 1), while the well-known figure (Pl. XII, fig. 4) of a dog<sup>6</sup> now in the

<sup>1</sup> These vases with a painted surface, especially those in which the rim is blackened, might perhaps be classed under the second heading, that of applied decoration. I have however kept them here to distinguish them from vases with a definite design in paint of a colour different from the body colour.

<sup>2</sup> Now in the Manchester Museum: AYRTON and LOAT, *El Mahasna*, Pl. XI, 3.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. Pl. XI, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Poorness of work may of course be due to an inferior artist and is not necessarily a sign of early date. At the same time what we speak of here is a resemblance in style and not merely an equality of badness. Large statues of a god would hardly be given to a poor artist to execute and are probably a fair test of the sculptural ability of the period.

<sup>5</sup> I cannot here treat the vexed question of the precise age of these ivories. There is of course no proof that they are actually earlier than the beginning of the 1st Dynasty.

<sup>6</sup> CAPART, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, fig. 145.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

- Fig. 1. Ox, modelled in clay, from El Amrah.  
Fig. 2. Bowl, decorated with hippopotami, from El Mahanna.  
Fig. 3. Ivory figurine from El Mahanna.  
Fig. 4. Part of Ivory figure of a dog, from Hierakonpolis. (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)



Ashmolean Museum shows that by the time when these Hierakonpolis ivories were made Egyptian art had reached a perfection in the rendering of the animal form which it would be difficult to surpass.

We must turn now to the second class of objects, those in which the decoration may be said to be applied rather than to consist in the colour or form of the thing itself. And here, in order properly to estimate and understand this branch of predynastic art, it is necessary to pause for a moment and to consider the motives which led to the systematic decoration of many classes of objects and the elements of the decorative design of the ancient Egyptians.

Among primitive peoples there exist various motives for the decoration of objects<sup>1</sup>. Firstly there is the purely artistic motive. In Egypt we have a good example of this in the early predynastic black pottery with incisions filled with a white paste in order to show them up effectively. The designs on these vases (Pl. XIII, fig. 2) are doubtless to a great extent derived from basket work, and as such have what may be called a natural origin, but their purpose is purely ornamental and they serve no useful end. In the second place an object may be ornamented for a useful purpose, as, for example, to distinguish it from others of the same kind and thus to mark its ownership. For instance certain savage tribes are accustomed to adorn their arrows with marks in order that the animal which is slain in a combined hunt may be given to him who actually shot it. In predynastic Egypt we have a good illustration of this motive for decoration in the numerous potmarks with which vases are incised. It is extremely probable that these originally denoted either the owner or the source or the contents of the vessel. A third motive for decoration is the magical or religious. Under this heading is to be placed the frequent use of red ochre for colouring objects or persons in neolithic Europe and elsewhere. It is of course not easy to trace decorative motives in Egypt to this source, for we know nothing of early Egyptian magic; it is, however, certain that a great deal of Egyptian decorative design had its origin in the various tribal totem signs such as the hawk, the bull, the tree and so on. It is hardly necessary to add that a piece of decoration which served in origin a useful or magical purpose may lose this and degenerate into something which is now retained from purely aesthetic considerations.

Such then were the motives which led to the application of ornament to various objects in early Egypt. This decoration was applied by the predynastic Egyptian to the object in various ways, by incising, by painting, by relief work, and occasionally by the application of figures cut almost entirely in the round<sup>2</sup>. In these ways the idea of the artist was translated on to the object to be decorated. But what was the nature of the ideas which he endeavoured to translate? To understand this we must analyse briefly the nature of primitive design.

Deniker<sup>3</sup> has laid it down as a principle of decorative art among primitive peoples that "all artistic designs are inspired by real objects; there is no feeling for what is purely and voluntarily ornamental, nor, for still more forcible reasons, are there any

<sup>1</sup> See Haddon, *Evolution in Art*.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. in the Mahara hippopotamus vase and the various ivory spoons with animals on the shafts. This is precisely one of those points where our two classes of objects separated at the outset of this paper overlap.

<sup>3</sup> *Les races et les peuples de la terre*, pp. 237 ff.

geometrical figures, as was believed till recently." It may be that Deniker is here making a generalization which cannot be proved and may even be incorrect. It is, however, certainly true that the vast majority of primitive designs are in origin an attempt to copy something in nature or manufacture. This was certainly the case in ancient Egypt. The mark made on the body of a large vase by the rope tied round it while it was still damp, to aid in moving it and to keep it from contact with its neighbours in the drying yard, is imitated even when the rope is no longer used or needed. Similarly the line drawn round the cylindrical vases of the 1st Dynasty, which appears in itself purely ornamental, is, when rightly viewed, only a degeneration of the wavy handle of the predynastic jar and can be traced through every stage of the decay. Further, the rows of triangles so common on the predynastic red on buff pottery are in origin mountain ranges, while the long wavy lines, usually in threes, on the same ware are derived from the representation of water. In other words, what may appear at first sight to be a purely geometrical design is shown on investigation to have a natural origin. Whether every element of early Egyptian design can be treated in this way or really had this origin is a question which, in spite of Deniker's dictum, I think is best left open. It is certainly true of the greater portion.

The motives of design having been selected, it remains to arrange them. Here two principles of primitive art come into play in Egypt, firstly the delight which the primitive mind, as well as the advanced, takes in the rhythmic repetition of sounds or sights<sup>1</sup>, and secondly the less universal tendency of a primitive decorator to fill up the spaces in a scene with ornament quite meaningless in its present collocation if not in origin.

Fully to show how these principles of design and its application to the object are exemplified in predynastic art would require many pages of illustration, and we must confine ourselves to some of the more easily describable examples.

In early predynastic days we find the potter already producing complicated geometric designs on the white incised black ware, designs derived doubtless from basket work but which have advanced far beyond the prototype and formed a free geometric system based mainly on the principle of respecting a fixed element of design at regular intervals round the vase. Here the artist finds little difficulty. His work is accurate, and he succeeds in devising a scheme suitable to the surface to be covered—a feature of Egyptian art on which we laid stress at the outset—and in fitting it in with mathematical accuracy. At the same time he is producing another type of pottery with designs in white on a red background. Here he is not limited to geometrical patterns, but is experimenting with elements taken from nature, a plant, an animal, or even a human being. In this branch of pottery he is less successful, simply because he is attempting more. To a rather later date is to be assigned as a whole the pottery with designs in red on a usually unprepared buff surface. Here we notice a distinct advance both in arrangement and in drawing. The human figure is still crudely given, but the animals have improved a little and there is an attempt to give panoramic effects. To this class belong the vases with representations of boats bearing standards of the various nomes of Lower Egypt. And here we have our finest illustrations of the tendency to fill up all the available space with design of some kind (Pl. XIII, fig. 3)<sup>2</sup>. The spaces above the boats are often filled with women dancing

<sup>1</sup> GROSSE, *Les débuts de l'art*, pp. 113 ff.

<sup>2</sup> CAPART, *op. cit.*, fig. 94.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

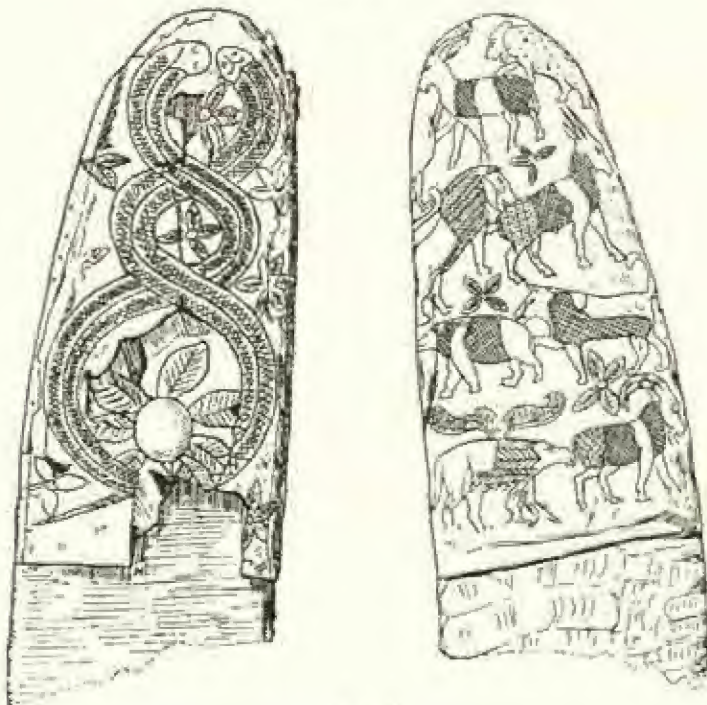


Fig. 4.

- Fig. 1. Ivory statuette, a crouching captive. From Hierakonpolis.  
 Fig. 2. Black incised pottery with decoration in imitation of basket-work.  
 Fig. 3. Vase decoration. From de Morgan.  
 Fig. 4. Gold-leaf with incised designs, sewn on to one end of a large flint knife to form the handle. [Cairo Museum.]







or with flamingoes, while, as if this were not enough, the spaces which still remain are crowded with little zigzags. Another excellent example of this trait is to be seen in the famous painted tomb at Hierakonpolis<sup>1</sup>, where boats, men and animals are mixed up in the wildest confusion. Nevertheless, in the best examples of this type of pottery, the adaptation of the design to the space to be filled is excellent. This notable feature of later Egyptian art is already present and needs nothing more than the purging away of the barbarism of filling-ornament.

From works such as these we pass on to a number of wonderful artistic products which, as far as can be ascertained, date from the end of the predynastic period. The artist has progressed and is now able to deal with much more untractable materials, such as ivory, stone, bone and gold. One of the finest pieces of work of the period is a knife handle of gold-leaf in the Cairo Museum (Pl. XIII, fig. 4)<sup>2</sup>. On one of its flat surfaces is engraved a series of peculiar animals, including a lion and a gazelle, excellently arranged, but showing still a remnant of primitive tradition in the rosettes of leaves used to fill up the spaces. On the other surface is a pair of serpents entwined so as to form three circular spaces, each of which is occupied by a rosette of leaves. These, unlike those on the other face, do not offend, for they are not a filling-ornament but an integral part of a conventional design. An equally praiseworthy product is the ivory comb of the Davis collection, on which are cut in relief on both sides rows of birds and animals. The design, depending as it does for its effect on repetitions of similar elements, is primitive, but the work is exquisitely delicate, and the characteristics of the various beasts are clearly rendered.

Still more remarkable, however, is the wonderful series of ornamented slate palettes, the best known of which represents King Narmer (Menes<sup>3</sup>) smiting the people of the Harpoon nome. In this we may see the progress made in the rendering of the human form. The figure of Narmer has a certain heaviness which may also be remarked in the slightly later relief of Semerkhet at Sinai and in the statue of Khasekhem from Hierakonpolis. It is not equal to the best work of the IVth Dynasty, but on the other hand a broad chasm separates it from the early predynastic representations of the human form in whatever material. Equally admirable is the ornamented mace-head of the Scorpion King now in the Ashmolean Museum; and here we may single out for special praise the excellent arrangement of a complicated design on a rounded surface of varying curvature.

From the aesthetic point of view however both these objects must give way before the slate palette of which the British Museum and the Ashmolean possess fragments (Pl. XIV)<sup>4</sup>. On the one face is a scene representing prisoners being led into captivity, and dead warriors being devoured by beasts and birds of prey. This, despite occasional crudity in the drawing, especially of the human forms, produces an excellent decorative effect, while some of the attitudes and movements of the figures are really well rendered. On the other face, the artist has been even more happy in his conception. On either side of a palm tree stands a giraffe feeding off the leaves (Pl. XV). The delicate

<sup>1</sup> CAPART, *op. cit.*, figs. 162-3.

<sup>2</sup> CAPART, *op. cit.*, fig. 33.

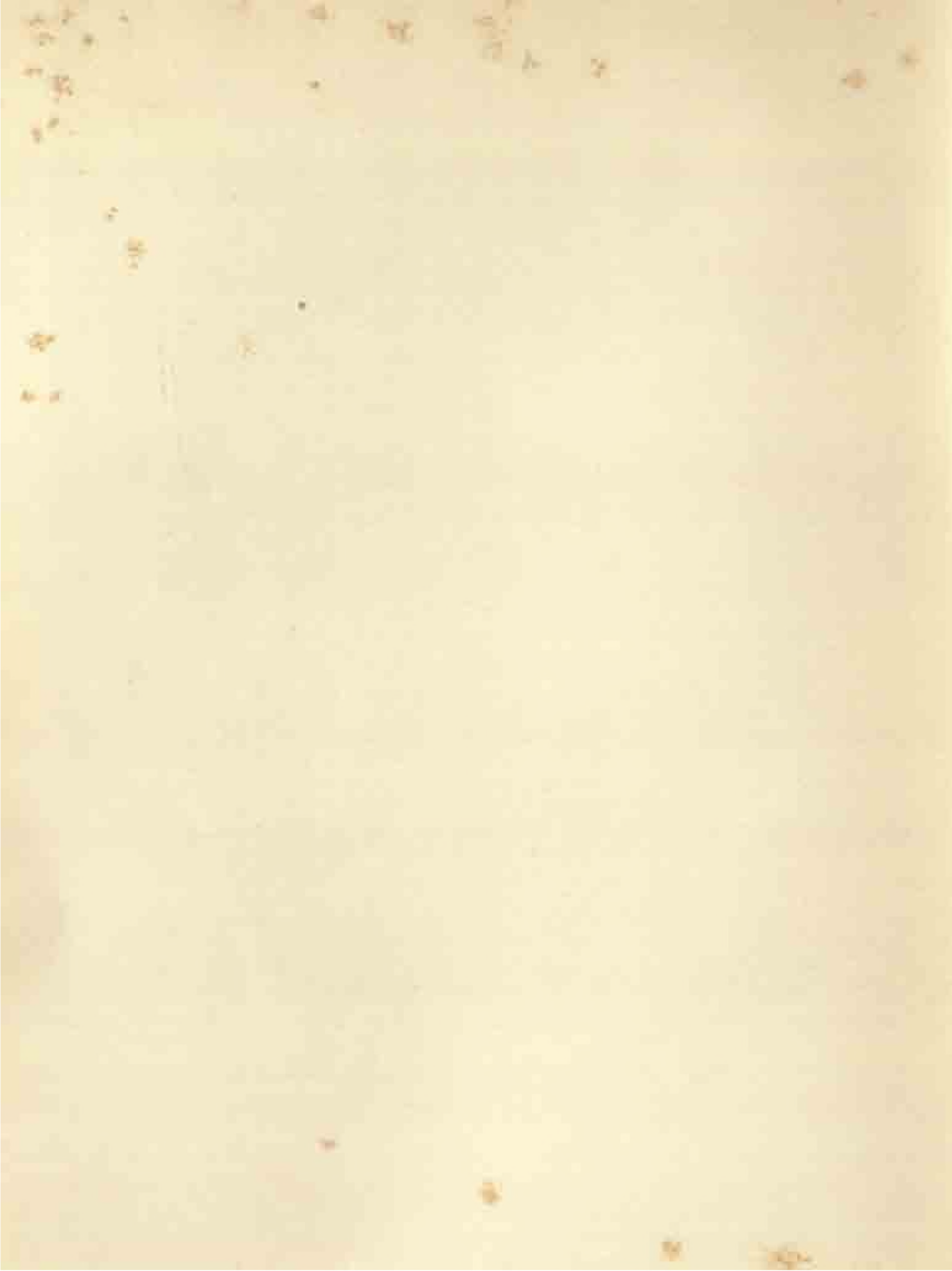
<sup>3</sup> The identification is based on the new fragment or fragments of the Palermo Stone, for whose contents the bulk of Egyptologists are still entirely dependent on the scanty and mysterious breathings of the initiated few.

<sup>4</sup> CAPART, *op. cit.*, figs. 179-180; LEGGE, *P.S.B.A.*, xlii (1900), Pl. XLII, XLIIA. *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* II.

rendering of the detail of the palm tree has compelled the admiration of a French writer, but perhaps even more astonishing are the graceful curves of the giraffes' legs. Egyptian art can show no finer example than this of the completeness with which it realized these two characteristics, the effective use of line and the perfect adaptation of the design to the space to be filled.

We have now rapidly reviewed the art of the predynastic period in its course from the earliest arrival of the predynastic people in the Nile valley to the accession of the 1st Dynasty. We have examined its methods and its achievements, and have seen that it contained in the germ most of what we admire so much in the best Egyptian art, that of the IIIrd to VIth Dynasties. We venture to think that if those who are unable to step back behind the era of classical Greece and admire any of Egypt's artistic products, would take the trouble to make themselves acquainted with these early works and their origins instead of judging the Egyptian artist, as they too often do, by the commonplaces of the New Kingdom and the conscious archaisms of the XXVIth Dynasty, they would occasionally be glad to let their eyes wander from the marvels of Greece to their no less wonderful predecessors in early Egypt.





## BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

A. PAPYRI<sup>1</sup> (1913-14)

By H. IDRIS BELL, M.A.

THE war has doubtless prevented the publication of not a few contributions to papyrology which I should otherwise have had to record; and the interruption of communications with Germany and Austria necessarily renders the following list incomplete even as regards works actually published.

I. *Literary Texts.*

Under this heading, as usually in recent years, the annual volume of the Egypt Exploration Fund<sup>2</sup> takes first place; a volume rendered the more welcome from the reappearance on its title-page of the name of Dr Grenfell. All students of papyri will unite in congratulating him and themselves on his restoration to health, and will hope that he may long be able to continue the work in which he is such a master.

Of the theological fragments contained in this volume the most notable are those numbered 1224 (fourth century), which contain sayings of Christ. The editor discusses the question whether these are to be assigned to such a collection of Sayings as P. Oxy. 1 and 654 or to an uncanonical Gospel, and decides in favour of the latter hypothesis, which certainly seems the more likely. The other theological fragments are not of special interest; with the exception of two, from Leviticus and the Psalms respectively, they are all from the New Testament.

Among the classical texts the outstanding item, which indeed gives the whole volume a special importance, is of course no. 1231, containing fragments of Sappho. The roll is indeed in an extremely fragmentary condition, and the fragments have not fitted together so well as the editors doubtless hoped when they first discovered them; but one ode at least, that contained in frag. 1, col. i, is comparatively well preserved, and is a real addition to our stock of Greek literature. Another contribution to the body of Sappho's extant work is made by 1232, which contains about a score of lines, complete or approximately so, on the marriage of Hector and Andromache, not so fine as the ode in 1231, but in some ways even more interesting from the novelty of its character among Sappho's fragments. 1233 and 1234 contain valuable fragments of Alcaeus, representing several different classes of his poems. The other new literary fragments are arguments of Menander's plays; a fragment of his *Epitrepontes*, small in itself but very useful as an addition to the very considerable

<sup>1</sup> I have again to thank Messrs M. N. Tod and J. de M. Johnson for a number of references.

<sup>2</sup> *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part x, 1914, 6 plates.

fragments of the play contained in the famous K6m Ishgau codex; small fragments of his *Colax*; fragments of unidentified comedies; six consecutive columns of a curious and interesting "Chrestomathy" of miscellaneous knowledge, containing a valuable list of Alexandrian librarians, which helps to clear up a disputed point in the chronology of Apollonius Rhodius; and a narrative of a dispute before Trajan between Jewish and Greek emissaries from Alexandria, an interesting addition to the "Alexandrian anti-Semitic and 'nationalist' literature," the "Heidnische Mätyrerakte" of Wilcken's well-known paper *Zum alex. Antisemitismus*.

Extant classical authors represented in the volume are Apollonius Rhodius; Herodotus; Thucydides (three MSS.); Plato, *Politicus*; Babrius, *Fables* (important both for the date of Babrius and the history of the text); Achilles Tatius, *Chitophon and Leucippe* (also of value for the author's date); and, of special interest, Cicero, *In Verrem* II and *Pro Caelio*, part of the same MS. as P. Oxy. 1097.

The third volume of the Società Italiana<sup>1</sup>, whose publications promise soon to rank among the principal collections of papyrus texts, contains a few further literary fragments. The most interesting, though their interest is not strictly literary, are two astrological fragments, nos. 157, which the editor Fr. Boll regards as from the 5th book of Manetho's *Apotelesmatica*, and 158, a page of a prose astrological treatise. The other literary fragments are St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians; a small scrap of a medical treatise; some epic fragments by an unknown author of the school of Nonnus; and an imperfect page of a codex containing arithmetical problems (on the recto the problem is the measurement of a theatre; the editor's conjecture that the aim is to estimate the seating accommodation is possible but by no means beyond doubt).

Literature is again represented in the papyri at Freiburg, with the publication of which a beginning has been made by W. Aly and M. Gelzer<sup>2</sup>. This first part contains only literary papyri and one Ptolemaic "Urkunde." Among the former no. 1 deserves special note as another specimen of a school-book. It contains miscellaneous quotations, strung together without any special connexion; on the verso is an interesting glossary, apparently a Homer lexicon, of which the extant portion relates to words beginning with the letter α. Another noteworthy text is no. 2, two highly interesting fragments of a dialogue concerning the deification of Alexander, to which Aly appends an elaborate commentary. The others are:—Fragments of unknown Attic orations (two MSS.); a scrap from an Anthology; and a small Iliad fragment.

The most important article on the new fragments of Sappho and Alcaeus referred to above as contained in P. Oxy. x is one by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff<sup>3</sup>, who assisted Hunt in the original edition. Another article by J. M. Edmonds<sup>4</sup> contains numerous suggestions for the restoration or improvement of the text. The net result as regards Sappho's ode is a rather pleasing text, particularly as stanza 4, left imperfect by Hunt and Wilamowitz, is here completed; but Hunt in a short article<sup>5</sup> points out

<sup>1</sup> *Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto: Papiri greci e latini*, Vol. III, 1 plate. Firenze, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> *Mitteilungen aus der Freiburger Papyrusammlung*, 1. *Literarische Stücke herausgegeben von Wolf Aly*, *Ptolemäische Kirchenurkunde herausgegeben von Matthias Gelzer*, *Stylosch. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1914, 2. Abhandlung.

<sup>3</sup> *Neue lesbische Lyrik in Neue Jahrbücher f. d. class. Alt.* Vol. 33 and 34, 1914, pp. 225-247.

<sup>4</sup> *The New Lyric Fragments*, 1, in *Classical Review*, Vol. 28, 1914, pp. 73-78.

<sup>5</sup> *The New Lyric Fragments*, ib. pp. 126-127.

that few of Edmonds's conjectures are supported by the MS. traces. In a subsequent note on this ode<sup>1</sup> T. L. Agar makes a very unnecessary attempt at the emendation of L 6 and some other unconvincing suggestions.

G. A. Gerhard, who has more than once won distinction by recognizing the connexion of papyrus fragments dispersed in more than one collection, has published<sup>2</sup> a number of fragments of a medical papyrus written in the third century B.C., certain of which had previously been published respectively in P. Grenf. II and in P. Rylands I, while the remainder are preserved at Heidelberg and are now made public for the first time. Numerous further fragments, found at Hibeh by Grenfell and Hunt and destined for publication in a future volume of the Hibeh papyri, are at present at Oxford. The Grenf., Rylands, and Heidelberg fragments are collected and carefully edited by Gerhard; but, though fairly numerous (twenty in all), they are small, and hardly afford a sufficient basis for identification. Gerhard indeed tries to prove that they are from the *Πάθος αἰτία θεραπεύεα* of Diocles of Carystus; but the evidence is too scanty to be conclusive, and Wellmann, whose opinion is given in an appendix, decisively rejects Gerhard's theory, himself suggesting, very tentatively, the *Φυσικά θεωρήματα* of Chrysippus of Cnidus. Possibly the unpublished Hibeh fragments may throw further light on the question.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorf publishes some new fragments of Callimachus<sup>3</sup>. They are two imperfect leaves from a papyrus codex, according to Wilamowitz from the same codex as PSL II 133 and the two fragments previously published by him in the Berlin *Sitzungsber.* 1912, p. 524 ff. PSL 133 was dated, doubtfully, by the editors in the fifth century, but Wilamowitz and Schubart decide for the third century. From the facsimile this seems possible, but early fourth is not out of the question. The fragments are of some interest, particularly the second, which refers to the story of Heracles and Theiodamas and is characteristic of Callimachus's tone. They are from the *Aetia*. J. U. Powell has a note on the new fragments, with a suggested new reading<sup>4</sup>.

O. Lagercrantz has published<sup>5</sup>, with a care and wealth of commentary atoning in some measure for past neglect, an important papyrus which has had a strange history. Presented in 1832 by Johann d'Anastasy, Swedish-Norwegian Consul General at Alexandria, to the Swedish Academy of Antiquities, it seems to have attracted no notice at the time of its acquisition, and lay unregarded in the National Museum at Stockholm until 1906, when it was removed to the Victoria Museum at Upsala. The papyrus, one of the best preserved ever discovered, seems to belong to the same find as the Leyden Papyri, and is a codex of fifteen leaves, practically undamaged. It contains interesting chemical and alchemical formulae. Lagercrantz gives text, translation, and an elaborate commentary, besides two plates. The date appears to be the fourth or early fifth century.

<sup>1</sup> *On Suppho's Ode*, *ib.* pp. 189-190.

<sup>2</sup> *Ein dogmatischer Arzt des vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* *Stegaber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1913, 13. Abhandlung.

<sup>3</sup> *Neues von Kallimachos*, II in *Stegaber. d. Kön. pr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1914, pp. 229-244.

<sup>4</sup> *On a New Fragment of Callimachus's Aitia*, in *Classical Review*, Vol. 28, 1914, p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> *Papyrus Graecus Holstenius: Receipts für Silber, Steine und Purpur*. Uppsala, A.—B. Akademiska Bokhandeln. Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1913. 8vo.

Fr. Fischer has collected in a small volume<sup>2</sup>, which will be useful to textual critics, the fragments of Thucydides discovered in Egypt up to the present.

*The Classical Review* contains a note<sup>3</sup> announcing some interesting results obtained by J. M. Edmunds through a study of the papyrus of Aleman's Parthenion, and another<sup>4</sup> on a paper read by J. U. Powell at a meeting of the Oxford Philological Society on "Fragments of Hexameter Poems in Chicago Papyri." The fragments are apparently from a collection of Hymns, perhaps of the second or first century B.C.

P. Vallette, in a study<sup>5</sup> of Gerhard's *Phoenix von Kolophon*, questions the editor's view of Phoenix as a member of the Cynic school of philosophy; and on the other hand D. Serruys points out<sup>6</sup> certain facts which tend to invalidate some of Vallette's arguments.

D. Serruys has recognized<sup>7</sup> in P. Oxy. vi 870 a fragment of the Chronicle of Hippolytus Romanus.

A useful piece of work is a dissertation by W. Bauer<sup>8</sup> on the diction and style of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, undertaken with a view to throwing light on the vexed question of authorship. It does not fall within the scope of the work to discuss this question directly, but it is satisfactory to those who cannot swallow E. Meyer's advocacy of Theopompus to find the author concluding that "auctor quam maxima arte rhetorica imbutus tantam stilli puritatem non nisi iterum iterumque correcto opere assequi potest," and consequently rejecting Meyer's hypothesis that the history is a hastily written work of Theopompus's youth.

M. Gelzer reviews<sup>9</sup> very favourably Walker's *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (see *Journ. Eg. Arch.* I, p. 130); and the work is also reviewed<sup>10</sup> by A. von Moss, who, while admitting the strength of Walker's case against Theopompus, rejects his hypothesis that the author is Ephorus.

C. Robert contributes to *Herms* a note<sup>11</sup> on Pindar's 8th Paean, with special reference to the passage relating to Hercules's dream. In the last report should have been included a reference to an elaborate study by B. Jurenska of the 2nd Paean<sup>12</sup>. In this paragraph may, finally, be given a reference to a monograph on metrical features in the strophic correspondences of Bacchylides and Pindar by P. Mame<sup>13</sup>.

Articles have appeared by E. E. Sonnenburg on the *Herms* of Menander<sup>14</sup>, and by

<sup>2</sup> *Thucydides Reliquiae in Papyris et Membranis Aegyptiacis Seruatae*. Leipzig, H. G. Teubner, 1912. 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. 28, 1914, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> *Phoenix de Colophon et la poésie cynique*, in *Revue de Philologie*, Vol. 37, 1913, pp. 102-102.

<sup>6</sup> *A propos de Phoenix de Colophon*, *Id.* pp. 189-190.

<sup>7</sup> *Un fragment sur papyrus de la chronique d'Hippolyte de Rome*, in *Rev. de Phil.* Vol. 38, 1914, pp. 27-31.

<sup>8</sup> *De Romanis Hellenicorum Oxyrhynchii Reperituris*, in *Dissertationes Philologicae Vindobonenses*, 37, pp. 1-66, 1913.

<sup>9</sup> *Wochenchr. f. class. Phil.* 1914, cols. 124-127.

<sup>10</sup> *Rev. Phil.* Week. 1914, cols. 461-463.

<sup>11</sup> *De Pindari VIII Paean*, in *Herms*, Vol. 40, pp. 215-216.

<sup>12</sup> *Pindari anaphorae Paeon pro Achille*, in *Philologia*, Vol. 11, 1912, pp. 173-216.

<sup>13</sup> *De vocum Responsionibus in Bacchylidis et Pindari*, in *Jahrbuch d. Phil. Fernst zu Berlin*, Vol. 30, 1912, pp. 228-230.

<sup>14</sup> *In Menanderi Herms*, in *Reinhardt's Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge*, Vol. 69, 1914, pp. 261-262.

K. Munscher on the *Ichneutes* of Sophocles<sup>1</sup>. The latter play is also the subject of an article<sup>2</sup> by Miss J. E. Harrison, who discusses col. ix, ll. 1-7 from an anthropological point of view. Her discussion is decidedly interesting, though perhaps rather too fanciful.

J. A. R. Munro proposes<sup>3</sup> a transposition of § 3 and the first half of § 4 of Aristotle's *Ath. Politeia* xxx, making the sentence which begins <Βουλευσθαι> δὲ § ἂν δοκῇ refer to the Hellenotamiae instead of to the Boule.

C. Robert, in an article<sup>4</sup> on the Geneva fragment which its editor J. Nicole regarded as from Apollodorus's *Chronicle* (see E. E. F. *Arch. Report* 1909-1910, p. 46), gives a new reading by Christian Jensen, and calls in question Nicole's view that it refers to the great Phaidias. His own view is that it may be a commentary on some speech (possibly Demarchus's *ὑπὲρ Εὐθυδέρου*) or possibly an Epitome.

G. M. Bolling discusses<sup>5</sup>, in the light of the evidence furnished by papyrus texts of Homer, the question whether the numerous later MSS. of the *Iliad* can be regarded as all descended from a single archetype. He is inclined to answer the question in the affirmative, believing the archetype to be an edition issued some time about the year 150 B.C.

K. Preisendanz in a short article communicates<sup>6</sup> an arrangement of several hitherto unplaced fragments of the long magical papyrus Lond. i 121 which he has succeeded in making. He also makes suggestions for emendations in the text of the great Paris magical papyrus<sup>7</sup>. Magic is further represented in an article by S. Eitrem<sup>8</sup>, who writes on P. Mag. Lond. i 122, l. 85 ff. and on a *defixio* papyrus at Alexandria; but this article I have been unable to see.

G. E. Bau calls attention<sup>9</sup> to a further parallel, overlooked by Schubart, to the Berlin trilingual conversation-book published by Schubart in *Klio* (see *Journ. Eg. Arch.* 1, p. 135).

G. A. Gerhard has a note<sup>10</sup> on the ostrakon published by Sir H. Thompson and containing two sayings of Diogenes (see *Journ. Eg. Arch.* 1, p. 130).

A very useful purpose is served by a vocabulary<sup>11</sup>, arranged in lexicon form, of Biblical Greek as illustrated by the usage of non-literary texts (mainly of course papyri), of which Moulton and Milligan have just published the first part. Its appeal

<sup>1</sup> *Die Sophokles Ichneutes*, ib. pp. 179-190.

<sup>2</sup> *Sophokles, Ichneutes*, vol. ix, 1-7, and *Die Episteme of Kyllene and the Satyrs*, in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* (Cambridge University Press, 1910), pp. 130-152.

<sup>3</sup> ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ, xxx, 3-4, in *Class. Quarterly*, Vol. 8, 1914, pp. 13-16.

<sup>4</sup> *Über den Genfer Phaidias-Papyrus*, *Stadler, d. Kon. pr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1914, p. 306 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *The Archetype of our Iliad and the Papyri*, in *Am. Journ. of Phil.*, Vol. 35, 1914, pp. 133-145.

<sup>6</sup> *Die Hymenaeus-Pap. Lond. cxli*, in *Philologus*, Vol. 72, 1914, pp. 252-256.

<sup>7</sup> *Über gewisse Pariser Zauberpapyri*, in *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* Vol. 13, 1914, pp. 247-248; and *Zum Schluss des grossen Pariser Zauberpapyrus*, in *Wochenblatt f. class. Phil.* 1913, cols. 980-991.

<sup>8</sup> *Varia*, in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, Vol. 3 (7), 1914, pp. 26-27. (The reference given me was to Vol. 2, 1914, but this is certainly incorrect. Vol. 2 has not yet (February) arrived at the British Museum.)

<sup>9</sup> *Zu dem lat.-griech.-ägypt. Gesprächsbuch (Klio 121)*, in *Philologus*, Vol. 72, 1914, pp. 187-129.

<sup>10</sup> *Zur Legende von Kyllene Diogenes*, in *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* Vol. 17, 1914, pp. 325-326.

<sup>11</sup> *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, illustrated from the papyri and other non-literary sources*, Part 1. London, Holder and Stoughton, 1914. 4to. 6s. net.

will be mainly to the exegetist and New Testament critic, but papyrologists will find it a convenient hunting ground for parallels. It may be noted in passing that a most amazing blunder is made in the article *ἀθανασία*, where the editors, if they really mean what they seem to mean, cite Preisigke (and incidentally Herodotus) in support of their impossible rendering "very strong, hardy" for *ἀθανάτους* in P. Strass. i 30, 6, and add insult to injury by fathering on him a mistake in German grammar. The misconception apparently arises from an unfounded belief that "eiserner Bestand" is German for "an iron constitution"!

A book which should perhaps be mentioned under this head is A. C. Clark's volume on the primitive text of the Gospels and Acts<sup>1</sup>. It develops the thesis that the "Western," not the "Eastern," text is the primitive one, and that the passages omitted in B and N are not interpolations in the MSS, which have them but parts of the original text accidentally omitted in the archetype or archetypes of the "Eastern" MSS. This thesis is founded on numerical calculations of the archetypal line-lengths, the disputed passages frequently showing the same length or a multiple of it, which suggests that a line or several lines or, in places, a whole column was skipped by a copyist. The book is a very important and suggestive one, and certainly makes a re-examination of the whole question necessary.

## II. Collections of non-literary Texts.

Under this heading P. Oxy. x<sup>2</sup> again takes first place. The texts contained in it are, as usual, of considerable and varied interest. Among the official documents one of the most notable is no. 1252, the verso of which contains a text throwing light on the office of eutheniarch. 1255 and 1257 are of interest for the *decaproti*. In 1264 we have a notification to the *βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων* of a right of inviolability (*ἀσυλία*), a valuable addition to the texts dealing with the much-discussed institution of the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων*. 1271, a petition from a woman of Side for a permit to leave Egypt, is of interest both as an illustration of the strictness with which movements out of and into Egypt were controlled by the Roman Government and for the very cursive Latin endorsement. Among contracts may be mentioned a marriage contract, of interest for its provision for future *δημοσίωσις* (see the editors' introduction), an appointment by a widow of a representative to register the value of her late husband's property before the *procurator asiacus* at Alexandria, an agreement for the division of the usufruct of a pigeon-house, a document (1281) of a curious form, which, though nominally a loan (*δεδάνισμα*), may perhaps be in reality a sale with deferred payment, etc.

The Italian volume<sup>2</sup> already referred to contains another miscellaneous collection of documents. As before, many of the papyri are from Oxyrhynchus, but Hermopolis, the Fayum, Antinoopolis, This, Mendes, and the Heracleopolite nome are also represented. Those from This form an interesting group of Ptolemaic petitions addressed *Ἀμφοτέρω τῶν (πρώτων) φίλων καὶ ἱππάρχῃ ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ τοῦ Θυρίτου*. Of these no. 168 relates to a quarrel between neighbouring villages, and in 171 we

<sup>1</sup> *The Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts*. Clarendon Press, 1914. 8vo. 4s. net.

<sup>2</sup> See page 95, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> See page 96, note 1.

have a reference to one of those cases of *ἀπιξία* not infrequent in the disturbed conditions prevailing towards the end of the second century B.C. The documents from Mendes are a further selection from the find of charred fragments now dispersed through several collections, and are of considerable interest in spite of their imperfection. One of the most interesting documents in the volume is no. 199, from Antinoopolis, which relates to the *ἐλαπίαις* of boys and gives an indication (supplemented by some unpublished papyri in the British Museum) of the use of the Attic months at Antinoopolis. Other texts worthy of note are nos. 160 and 222 relating respectively to taxes on fishing and on hunting, 162, with a reference to the construction of baths at Alexandria, and 204, receipts from a sculptor, to which is prefixed an interesting note by Preisigke on bank routine.

Another notable volume is Vol. I of the Munich papyri<sup>1</sup>. This, which is edited by A. Heisenberg and L. Wenger, consists entirely of the sixth century papyri from Syene, a find of which half found its way to the British Museum and will be published in Vol. V of the Museum Catalogue (see *Journ. Eg. Arch.* 1, p. 135). A special feature of the Munich volume is the very elaborate juristic commentary by Wenger, which will be invaluable to workers in the field of Byzantine papyri. The texts are for the most part well preserved, and several of them are of a distinctly interesting character. Reference may be made specially to nos. 2 (certificate of the receipt of a recruit's *probatoria* issued by the college of *priores*), 4 (a sale of a boat), and the series of arbitrations and agreements in the very litigious family of Jacobus (1, 6, 7, 14). Sales are well represented, as in the London half of the collection. The beautifully produced volume is accompanied by an atlas of facsimiles, which may without hesitation be described as marking up to the present the high water mark in the photographic reproduction of papyri.

Another part of P. Iand. (forming the second part of the "instrumenta" and the fourth fasciculus of the whole series) has been published<sup>2</sup>. It is edited by G. Spiess, whose untimely death a few days after the work had been sent to press is announced in a note at the end. It contains nos. 52—68 b. None of the texts contained in it is of outstanding importance, though there are incidental points of interest. The most notable is a Latin rescript of the second century relating to the *chiristae*, which adds to our knowledge of these officials and might have been of great importance had it been better preserved.

The third part of Preisigke's invaluable *Sammelbuch*<sup>3</sup> has appeared. Its interest for the papyrologist pure and simple is greater than was the case with the previous parts, as it contains a much larger number of notable papyrus texts, including the Hermias Papyri, hitherto not very accessible to some workers.

Preisigke is also responsible for the greater part of a very interesting volume<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Veröffentlichungen aus der Papyrus-Sammlung der Kön. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München.*

1. *Byzantinische Papyri.* Leipzig, Berlin, B. G. Teubner, 1914. 4ta. 37 photographic facsimiles.

<sup>2</sup> *Papyri Iandemac: cum discipulis edidit Carolus Kalbfleisch. Fasc. IV. Instrumenta Graeca Publica et Privata. Pars Altera.* Edidit Georgius Spiess. Lipsiae, B. G. Teubner, 1914. 8vo. 3 plates.

<sup>3</sup> *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten.* 3. Heft. Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1914. 8vo.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka. Schriften der Wiss. Gesell. in Strassburg.* 19. Heft. Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1914. 8vo.

forming one of the series issued by the Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft of Strassburg. In this is published a series of Greek and Demotic ostraca (presented to Strassburg University by Prince Joachim of Prussia) recording the periodical burials of ibis and falcon mummies in the nome of Ombes in the first century B.C. They form a collection of texts which is of the greatest importance for the light it throws on one side of Egyptian religious ritual, and Preisigke's very detailed commentary, in which he deals with various questions raised by the texts and particularly with the officials mentioned in them, is of great value. The Demotic texts are edited by Spiegelberg, who also contributes a short introduction on the burial of sacred animals.

The one non-literary papyrus in the Freiburg *Mitteilungen* referred to above<sup>1</sup> is a document of B.C. 251, which is of the first importance for the question of the Egyptian cleruchy. It has been generally accepted since the appearance of Rostowzew's *Kolonat* that *kleroi* were taken only from unproductive land (*ὑπέλογον*), not from that under cultivation (*γῆ σπόριμος*). This principle, undoubted in the second century B.C., had been, without positive evidence in its favour, inferred for the third also. The new text shows that the inference is not justified; for we here find arable land assigned (probably for a year only) to cavalrymen. Whether the latter practice developed out of the earlier or both systems existed concurrently from the first is not clear (Gelzer does not sufficiently allow for the second possibility in his commentary though he admits it in a supplementary foot-note), but in either case the ruling view requires considerable modification. The new document is also of value for the difficult question of the Macedonian lunar year.

### III. Lesser Publications of non-literary Texts.

M. D. Chabiaras publishes<sup>2</sup> two papyri belonging to the Archaeological Society of Athens, with notes on them by S. B. Kougeas. The first is the sale of a donkey described as *χελιδοναῖος* (with reference to its colour), the second a petition. Both are from the Fayum. Facsimiles are given.

Hardly ever does a papyrus text bring us into immediate touch with a literary personality; and for this reason a document published by J. Maspero<sup>3</sup> is particularly welcome, though the writer whom it concerns was not a figure of great importance. The papyrus, part of the Beaugé collection, now acquired by the Cairo Museum and to be published in P. Cair. Masp. III, contains four separate documents, of which only the first is here communicated; and it proceeds from the library of the literary notary Dioscorus of Aphroditu. The document published is a copy of an application (*ἀντιρητικοὶ λίβελλοὶ*) to a *ritarius* by Horapollon concerning the misdeeds of his wife (and cousin), who has eloped with a lover and has in addition seized property belonging to the petitioner. Maspero, no doubt rightly, identifies the latter, who describes himself as a philosopher of Alexandria, with the Horapollon who was a pagan (afterwards Christian) professor at Alexandria and the probable author of an extant treatise on the hieroglyphic script. The petition, both juristically and for its bearing on literary

<sup>1</sup> See p. 95, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἀρχαιολογικαὶ ὑπομνηματίζοντες πάπυροι καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνω παπύροις, δι' Ἀρχαιολογικὴν Ἐφημερίδα*, 1913, pp. 17-19.

<sup>3</sup> *Horapollon et la fin du paganisme égyptien*, in *Bull. de l'Inst. fr. d'Arch. et. d'Égypt.*, Vol. 11, pp. 183-195.

history, is of unusual interest, and is followed by an equally interesting commentary, in which Maspero discusses the small pagan philosophic circle at Alexandria in the fifth century.

J. G. Milne publishes<sup>1</sup> an interesting ostrakon containing a complaint, in excessively bad Greek, against a woman who has ejected the writer from a private shrine placed by him in her charge.

An imperfect ostrakon found at Deir el-Bahari and containing what may be an oracular response by the deified Amenotes, is published by H. R. Hall<sup>2</sup>.

Sir H. Thompson publishes<sup>3</sup> an interesting arithmetical fragment, contained on the outer leaf of a set of writing tablets of the Byzantine period. It is a table of fractions, showing how to compile multiples of  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

Spiegelberg publishes<sup>4</sup> two Heidelberg Demotic contracts from Gebelên, the first of which, a sale of land dated in A.C. 138-7, is followed by a Greek receipt for *ἐγκύκλιον*, read by Preisigke. A facsimile is given. He has also published<sup>5</sup>, with a commentary, a new and more complete translation of the Demotic papyrus P. Berlin 3080, which contains an oath by a royal tenant (*χειρογραφία ὁρκου βασιλικοῦ*), forming a useful parallel to the Greek one in P. Teb. I, 210 (= Wilcken, *Chrest.* 327).

A collection of Berlin mummy-tablets edited by G. Möller<sup>6</sup> includes a number of Greek labels. The volume has an introduction and indices.

W. S. Fox publishes<sup>7</sup> three further mummy-labels with notes supplementary to those in a previous publication.

An interesting letter, in Greek and Demotic, accompanying a mummy sent to Panopolis for burial is published, with a facsimile, by Spiegelberg<sup>8</sup>.

Finally, reference may be made to the publication<sup>9</sup> by Spiegelberg of a Demotic inscription from the Gebel Shêch el-Haridi recording the opening of a quarry, which, though more specially concerning the Egyptologist, is of interest to the student of Ptolemaic Egypt.

#### IV. Monographs, Articles, Reviews<sup>10</sup>, etc.

Under this head may be mentioned first a monograph published, as an inaugural dissertation, by E. Kuhn on Hadrian's foundation Antinoopolis<sup>11</sup>. It is but the first

<sup>1</sup> An Ostrakon from Esmeh, in *Journ. of the Manchester Eg. and Orient. Soc.* 1913-14, pp. 77-78.

<sup>2</sup> Deir El-Bahari, Part III, by E. NAVILLE and H. R. HALL, with an Appendix by C. T. CURRELLEY, *Eg. Expl. Fund.* 1913, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> A Byzantine Table of Fractions, in *Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I, 1914, pp. 52-54.

<sup>4</sup> Zwei demotische Urkunden aus Gebelên, in *Revue de Travaux*, Vol. 35, 1913, pp. 82-89.

<sup>5</sup> Der Königswid des demotischen Papyrus Berlin 3080, in *Revue de Travaux*, Vol. 36, 1914, pp. 167-174.

<sup>6</sup> Demotische Texte aus den Königl.ichen Museen zu Berlin. I. Band. *Mumienbeschreiber*. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs, 1913.

<sup>7</sup> Mummy Labels in the Royal Ontario Museum, in *Am. Journ. of Phil.* Vol. 35, 1914, pp. 463-466. The article, continued from Vol. 34, pp. 437-450, contains Nos. 10-12 of the series.

<sup>8</sup> Ein zweisprachiges Begleitschreiben zu einem Mumientransport, in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr. u. Alt.* Vol. 51, 1914, pp. 89-93.

<sup>9</sup> Eine Urkunde über die Eröffnung eines Steinbruchs unter Ptolemäus XIII., in the same, pp. 65-70.

<sup>10</sup> No attempt has been made at a complete list of reviews, and even among those which I have seen I have mentioned only the more important.

<sup>11</sup> Antinoopolis: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hellenismus im römischen Ägypten. *Gründung und Verfassung*. Göttingen, W. Fr. Kaestner, 1913. 8vo.

part of a longer work, which was announced for 1914, though, in view of the war, it is perhaps doubtful whether it has actually appeared. This first part contains chapters I (*Gründung, Anlage und Besiedlung*) and II (*Staatsrechtliche Stellung und Verwaltung*). Chap. I is mainly concerned with the archaeological evidence. The papyri discovered by Mr Johnson will perhaps supplement Kühn's account of the administrative history of the city, and several additions to our knowledge are certainly made by unpublished papyri in the British Museum.

Two works on points of Roman law which make use, among other sources, of the evidence of papyri are A. Steinwenter's *Studien zum römischen Verwundnisverfahren*<sup>1</sup> and R. Taubenschlag's *Vormundschaftsrechtliche Studien*<sup>2</sup>. Reference may here be made to a review of the second by E. F. Bruck<sup>3</sup>.

Waszyński's well-known work on leases of private land has now, after a long interval, been followed by a valuable monograph, by A. Berger, on leases of house property<sup>4</sup>. The subject is treated not only from the juristic standpoint but also, to a less extent, in relation to its bearing on economic and social history, and a useful list of the documents dealt with is given on pp. 324 f., 328 ff. These documents include leases of buildings in general, not merely of dwelling houses. The article is followed by one on leases and contracts for service in Babylon and Egypt by J. Kohler<sup>5</sup>.

W. L. Westermann has published a useful article on the apprentice system in Roman Egypt<sup>6</sup>. He gives a conspectus of the documents concerned, following Wilcken's classification into "apprentice contracts" and "teaching contracts" (*Lehrlingsverträge* and *Lehrverträge*). He deals with the subject not only from the legal but also from the economic and industrial sides.

After the preceding reference may appropriately come one to an article by E. Costa (which should have been included in my preceding bibliography) on contracts concerning labour generally<sup>7</sup>. It includes apprentice and teaching contracts among several other varieties of industrial agreements.

P. Jürs has devoted a detailed study to the important subject of the publication (*δημοσίωσις, ἐκπατριρρησις*) of private contracts<sup>8</sup>, beginning with a list of the documents concerned. He calls in question the prevailing view that a *χειρόγραφον* which had not undergone the process of publication had no evidential value in a court of law.

J. Maspero and G. Wiet have published the first part of an important work on

<sup>1</sup> München, C. H. Beck, 1914, 8vo. See especially 1. Abschn. § 3, and 2. Abschn., but papyri are cited elsewhere also.

<sup>2</sup> Leipzig, Berlin, B. G. Teubner, 1913, 8vo. See § 4, *Die gesetzliche Vormundschaft über Frauen im Reichsrecht und Völkerrecht nach der Constitutio Antonina*.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschr. d. Sav.-Stift.* Vol. 34, 1913, pp. 446-449.

<sup>4</sup> *Wohnungsmiete und Verwandtes in den präto-ägyptischen Papyri*, in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*, Vol. 29, 1913, pp. 321-415.

<sup>5</sup> *Über Miet-, Pacht- und Dienstverträge in Babylon und Aegypten*, *ib.* pp. 416-431.

<sup>6</sup> *Apprentice Contracts and the Apprentice System in Roman Egypt*, in *Classical Philology*, Vol. 9, 1914, pp. 295-315.

<sup>7</sup> *I contratti di lavoro nei papiri greco egizi*, in *Memorie della R. Acc. delle Scienze dell' Ist. di Bologna, Classe di Scienze Morali*, Ser. 1, Vol. 6, *Sezione di Scienze Giuridiche*, pp. 63-76.

<sup>8</sup> *Δημοσίωσις und ἐκπατριρρησις* in *Zeitschr. d. Sav.-Stift.* Vol. 34, 1913, pp. 107-158.

the place-names of Egypt contained in Vols. I and II of the *khitāt* of Makrizī<sup>1</sup>. The main value of this will be to Arabic and Coptic scholars, but full use is made also of the Greek evidence, and the work will often be of assistance to the Greek papyrologist.

A. J. Butler has published a small volume on the Egyptian Babylon<sup>2</sup>, which he maintains to be not a mere fortress but a city of considerable importance. A document in the British Museum which was probably written by a "notary of Babylon" (see *Klio*, Vol. 13, p. 167 f.) and some other additional pieces of evidence tend to support his view.

Though not strictly falling within my sphere, J. Lesquier's translation and adaptation of Erman's Egyptian Grammar<sup>3</sup> may be mentioned here, because Lesquier is chiefly known by his studies in the realm of Greek papyri, and the book will be of great value to Greek papyrologists desirous of acquiring some knowledge of Egyptian. The chief novelty of Lesquier's work is the separation into two parts of the study of the grammar and that of the script.

W. K. Prentice discusses<sup>4</sup> the explanation of the letters XMF given by Dölger in his IXΘΤΣ, which he rejects in favour of the theory that they stand for Christ (Χριστὸς ὁ ἐκ Μαρίας γεννηθεὶς or some variation of this formula).

H. Gauthier has published an important article on the 10th nome of Upper Egypt (that of Aphroditopolis)<sup>5</sup>, whose history he traces from the Egyptian to the Arab period.

H. Lewald, in a notice of Cuq's *Nouveau document sur l'Apokéryxis*<sup>6</sup> (see *Journ. Ég. Arch.* Vol. 1, p. 138), questions his view that the δόγμα ἀποκρύψεως is a draft of an actual notarial document, and favours Maspero's interpretation of it as a rhetorical exercise. His arguments certainly deserve notice but are not conclusive, and I am still of opinion, in view of the style of other documents written by Dioscorus, that Cuq's view is the true one.

J. A. Decourdemanche contributes to the *Annales* an article on Egyptian weights<sup>7</sup>, which in its latter part deals with the Graeco-Roman period.

An article by J. G. Milne<sup>8</sup> on Egyptian currency contains some important conclusions on points connected with this subject, such as the nature of the προσδιαγραφόμενα, of the phrase αὐ καὶ accompanying sums of money in tax-receipts, and the meaning of the word ὑπαρὸς as applied to coins.

<sup>1</sup> *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*. 1<sup>re</sup> série, 1. fascicule. *Liste des Provinces, Villages et Villages d'Égypte cités dans les tomes I et II des khitāt de Makrizī*. Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Inst. fr. d'arch. or. Le Caire, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> *Babylon of Egypt: a Study in the History of Old Cairo*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914. 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> *Grammaire égyptienne d'après la troisième édition de la grammaire d'Adolf Erman*. Publications de l'Inst. fr. d'arch. or. Bibliothèque d'études, tome 7<sup>me</sup>. Le Caire, 1914.

<sup>4</sup> XMF, a Symbol of Christ, in *Classical Philology*, Vol. 9, 1914, pp. 410-416.

<sup>5</sup> Le X<sup>e</sup> Nome de la Haute-Égypte, in *Recueil de Travaux*, Vol. 35, 1913, pp. 1-26, 162-192.

<sup>6</sup> *Zeitschr. d. Sav.-Stift.* Vol. 34, 1913, pp. 441-445.

<sup>7</sup> Note sur les poids égyptiens, in *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, Vol. 13, 1914, pp. 125-160.

<sup>8</sup> *The Currency of Egypt under the Romans to the Time of Diocletian*, in *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Vol. 7, pp. 61-66.

A discussion by Setho<sup>1</sup> of Wilcken's *Zu den xairoxoi des Serapeums* (*Arch. f. Pap.* Vol. 6, pp. 184-212) is inaccessible to me.

E. v. Druffel contributes to *Philologus* two notes<sup>2</sup>, one regarding P. Grenf. I, 11, a new fragment of which, supplying some of the lacunae, he has found at Heidelberg, and one on the Hermias case in P. Tor. I, proposing a new interpretation of col. ix, l. 25.

An important article by Wenger<sup>3</sup> sketches the plan of a word-index to the Greek Novellae of Justinian, which he proposes to undertake. The importance of such a work is obvious, and on the whole, weighing all considerations, the plan put forward by Wenger, for the details of which reference must be made to his article, seems the right one.

San Nicolò concludes his detailed discussion of the *Dikaiomata*<sup>4</sup>, which is also reviewed by Koschaker<sup>5</sup>, Mitteis<sup>6</sup>, and Plaumann<sup>7</sup>, the last of whom quotes an interesting passage from an unpublished Berlin papyrus in elucidation of the heading of col. xi (Θεσμοφυλακ β).

I have published an article<sup>8</sup> on a curious oath formula in a London papyrus of the Arab period, and another<sup>9</sup> on a so far unique dating clause of the reign of Heraclius found in a papyrus belonging to the same group. In the latter is given a list of the known dating clauses of Heraclius with a view to distinguishing peculiarities of local usage. I have since found this list to be not quite complete; and papyri published later add one or two more examples.

J. Maspero publishes some notes<sup>10</sup> on Arabic corruptions of Greek names and words.

G. A. Gerhard communicates<sup>11</sup> a correction by Spiegelberg to the Demotic text of P. Cairo dem. 30800, which removes an apparent discrepancy in the list of eponymous priests between it and the Greek formula in P. Grenf. I, 12 + P. Heid. 1285.

An article by W. H. Buckler on some inscriptions of Thyatira<sup>12</sup> contains a reference to the athletic diploma P. Lond. III, p. 218, no. 1178, in ll. 94-96 of which Buckler thinks we have the signature of a citizen of Thyatira.

J. de M. Johnson has published<sup>13</sup> an account of his excavations for papyri on the site of Antinoöpolis, which yielded some noteworthy literary papyri but were on the whole somewhat disappointing as regards non-literary documents.

<sup>1</sup> *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1914, p. 385 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Papyrologisches*, in *Philologus*, Vol. 72, 1913, pp. 196-205.

<sup>3</sup> *Über Papyri und Genossenschaft und über den Plan eines Wortindex zu den griechischen Novellen Justinians*, *Stegaber. d. Kön. Bay. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1914, 5, Abh.

<sup>4</sup> *Einiges aus dem P. Hal. I, III*, in *Arch. f. Kriminalanthr. u. Kriminalistik*, Vol. 37, 1914, pp. 316-340.

<sup>5</sup> *Berl. phil. Woch.* 1914, cols. 548-555.

<sup>6</sup> *Zeitschr. d. Sav.-Stift.* Vol. 34, 1913, pp. 456-465.

<sup>7</sup> *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 33, cols. 438-444.

<sup>8</sup> *An Oath formula of the Arab Period in Egypt*, in *Byz. Zeitschr.* Vol. 22, 1913 (1914), pp. 302-394.

<sup>9</sup> *A Dating Clause under Heraclius*, *ib.* pp. 395-405.

<sup>10</sup> *Graeco-Arabica*, in *Bull. de l'Inst. fr. d'Arch. or.* Vol. 12, pp. 43-51.

<sup>11</sup> *Zur Priesterliste des ptolemäischen Urkundenprotokolls*, in *Philologus*, Vol. 72, 1913, pp. 316-317.

<sup>12</sup> *Monuments de Thyatire*, in *Rev. de Phil.* Vol. 37, 1913, pp. 289-331. See p. 313 f.

<sup>13</sup> *Antinoö and its Papyri*, in *Journ. Eg. Arch.* Vol. 1, 1914, pp. 165-181.

L. Borchardt, in a notice of the latest German excavations<sup>1</sup>, mentions the discovery of some papyrus fragments at Karara and El-Hibeh by the Heidelberg Academy and the Freiburg Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

References have been given me to a note<sup>2</sup> by W. Schmid, urging that *μνησκεισθαι* must be retained in P. Hamb. 1, 37, 4, not altered to *μνησκεισθαι*, and to a review by H. Kallenberg<sup>3</sup> of G. Bauer's *Die Heidelberger Epitome*, but the articles themselves are at present inaccessible to me.

A. Berger, in a review<sup>4</sup> of Steiner's *Fiskus der Ptolemäer*, castigates with not unmerited severity the author's extraordinarily careless and unsystematic methods of work.

J. Maspero reviews PSI. 1<sup>5</sup>. A review of Biedermann's *Studien zur äg. Verwaltungsgesch.*<sup>6</sup> is not accessible to me. Wessely, in a review of P. Giss. 1, 3<sup>7</sup>, proposes several emendations; and the same publication is also reviewed by Wenger<sup>8</sup>, who at the end of his article adds an interesting note on P. Rylands 20.

Semeka's *Ptolemäisches Prozessrecht* is reviewed by G. Beseler<sup>9</sup> and by Wenger<sup>10</sup>. The latter also reviews San Nicolò's *Vereinswesen*<sup>11</sup>.

G. Plaumann, reviewing Cohen's *De Magistratibus*<sup>12</sup>, points out various omissions and mistakes; and the same work is also reviewed by Stübeler<sup>13</sup>.

Maspero's *Organisation militaire* is reviewed by R. Grosse<sup>14</sup> and M. Gelzer<sup>15</sup>. The latter review is of considerable importance.

E. v. Druffel reviews P. Lille II (the Magdala Papyri)<sup>16</sup>. A. Steinwenter, making use of papyrological material, reviews Samter's *Nichtförmliches Gerichtsverfahren*<sup>17</sup>; Lond. IV is reviewed by P. Viereck<sup>18</sup>; and Gradenwitz reviews BGU. IV, 4—12<sup>19</sup>.

Lastly, reference may be made to Hunt's interesting general article on papyrology<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Klio*, Vol. 14, 1914, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* col. 1633 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. de Phil.* Vol. 37, 1913, pp. 215-217.

<sup>4</sup> *Woch. f. klass. Phil.* 1914, cols. 37-40.

<sup>5</sup> *Vierteljahrsschr. f. Sozial- u. Wirtschaftsgesch.* Vol. 12, pp. 235-241.

<sup>6</sup> *Berl. phil. Woch.* 1914, cols. 681-683.

<sup>7</sup> *Zeitschr. d. Sav.-Stift.* Vol. 34, 1913, pp. 417-421.

<sup>8</sup> *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 35, cols. 108-112.

<sup>9</sup> *Berl. phil. Woch.* 1914, cols. 659-661.

<sup>10</sup> *Byz. Zeitschr.* Vol. 22, 1913 (1914), pp. 513-520.

<sup>11</sup> *Krit. Vierteljahrsschr. f. Gesetz. u. Rechtswiss.* 1913, pp. 165-186.

<sup>12</sup> *Ib.* 1914, pp. 59-69.

<sup>13</sup> *Berl. phil. Woch.* 1914, cols. 133-140.

<sup>14</sup> *Papyri and Papyrology*, in *Journ. Eg. Arch.* Vol. 1, pp. 81-92.

<sup>15</sup> *Berl. phil. Woch.* Vol. 34, 1914, col. 1598.

<sup>16</sup> *Göt. gel. Anz.* 1914, pp. 32-45.

<sup>17</sup> *Berl. phil. Woch.* 1914, col. 1290 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Zeitschr. d. Sav.-Stift.* Vol. 34, 1913, pp. 422-425.

<sup>19</sup> *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 35, cols. 234-236.

B. INSCRIPTIONS<sup>1</sup> (1914)

By MARCUS N. TOD, M.A.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to preface the present Bibliography with the remark that it can lay no claim to completeness. The disastrous war which burst upon Europe at the beginning of last August has not only proved, as was inevitable, a serious obstacle in the way of scientific research and publication in general, but the resulting interruption of direct communication between this country and the two great European empires with which it is engaged in hostilities has made it impossible for me to consult the majority of German and Austrian books and periodicals which have been published since the outbreak of the war. All I can attempt, therefore, in the following paragraphs is to give a brief account of the books and articles dealing with Greek inscriptions from Egypt of which I have succeeded in finding copies in Oxford, and also to refer to a few items accidentally omitted from my last Bibliography (see vol. I, p. 140 ff.).

G. Plaummann has republished<sup>2</sup> a fragmentary decree,—No. 164 in E. Breccia's Catalogue of the Greek and Latin inscriptions contained in the Alexandria Museum,—supporting the partial restoration which he had previously suggested<sup>3</sup> and in especial the attribution to Alexandria of the document, which Wilhelm at first claimed as Rhodian, though he subsequently changed his view<sup>4</sup>. If this attribution is accepted, we have here a valuable testimony to the autonomy of Alexandria in the third century B.C., and new light is thrown on its constitution as existing at the time at which the decree was passed, the close of the reign of Ptolemy Soter or the opening years of that of Ptolemy Philadelphus. A careful comparison with the institutions of Rhodes and of Ptolemais seems to show that 'Alexandria is profoundly influenced by Rhodes, and stands midway between Rhodes and Ptolemais.' The eponymous priest whose name stands at the head of the decree is, according to Plaummann, probably the one appointed by the king for the royal cult and not the priest of Alexander.

The excavations carried out by E. Breccia at the great Alexandrian necropolis of Shatbi form the subject of two large volumes of the Catalogue of the Alexandria Museum<sup>5</sup>, the first of which contains an account of the excavation and a detailed

<sup>1</sup> I wish to acknowledge with thanks the kind assistance which I have received from Mr F. H. Griffith in the compilation of this Bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> *Klio*, xiii, 485 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Berl. phil. Woch.* xxxiii, 639 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Beiträge zur griech. Inschriftenkunde*, 323 f., 370.

<sup>5</sup> E. BRECCIA, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes (Musée d'Alexandrie): La nécropole de Shatbi*, Cairo, 1912. 114 ff.

description of the objects found during its course, while the second is devoted entirely to a series of admirable plates. The inscriptions, of which almost all are sepulchral in character, have with few exceptions been previously published in the epigraphical volume of the Museum Catalogue: a few, however, appear here for the first time, including two epitaphs on grave-stelae (Nos. 18, 27), three *graffiti* on cinerary urns (Nos. 65, 71, 77), two vase inscriptions (Nos. 180, 592), and seven painted epitaphs from the walls of two underground chambers (pp. xxxvi ff., l.). Other additions made to the Museum during 1912 are discussed in a special report by the indefatigable Director<sup>1</sup>. The excavation of a Hellenistic cemetery near Hadra has resulted in the discovery of a number of grave-stelae of the third and second centuries B.C., including those of a Thessalian and three Cretans, while an interesting illustration of the syncretism of the Graeco-Egyptian religion is afforded by a votive text from Kom Abu Afrita, dating from the first half of the third century B.C., Σαράπιδι Διονύσῳ, Ἰσιδι Ἀφροδίτῃ, θεοῖς σωτήρσιν καὶ πολυφόροις, Νικαγόρας Ἀριστοκίτου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς. Another inscription<sup>2</sup>, discovered at Kom el-Akhdar, is of value as supplying clear evidence of the existence of a hitherto unknown Jewish community in the Delta. It runs: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασίλισσῃς Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ βασίλισσῃς Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυναικὸς οἱ ἀπὸ Ξεμφύρεως Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν πύλωνα τῆς προσευχῆς, προστάτων Θεοδώρου καὶ Ἀχιλλέως, and dates from the reign of Ptolemy VII Euergetes II Physcon and his two consorts, his sister Cleopatra II and his niece Cleopatra III. It thus falls between the years 143 and 117 B.C., and probably belongs to the earlier part of this period.

Turning to Middle Egypt, we may note a late Greek grave-relief<sup>3</sup>, found at Saqqara and now in the Glyptothek at Munich, bearing the inscription Εὐάγγελος ὡς ἐτὼν γγ'. Several new and interesting texts from the Fayum have been published by G. Lefebvre. A votive inscription<sup>4</sup> from Philadelphia (Girzeh) bears the date September-October, 62 A.D., while a second from the same site, dedicated Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρηι θεαῖς μεγίσταις by a man in conjunction with his wife and children, belongs approximately to the same time. A third inscription<sup>5</sup> of a similar nature, discovered at Euhemeria (Kasr el-Banât), is dated to the years 193-180 B.C. by the phrase ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασίλισσῃς Κλεοπάτρας θεῶν ἐπιφανῶν, which must refer to Ptolemy V Epiphanes and Cleopatra I. From Tebtunis (Umm el-Baragât) we have a dedication<sup>6</sup> of a temple to Isis (Ἰσιδι θεᾷ μεγίστῃ) by an Ilarch in the name of Ptolemy XIII Auletes and Cleopatra V Tryphaena, the mention of whom proves that it belongs to one of the years between 78 and 57 B.C. All the four documents just mentioned are now preserved in the Cairo Museum. An *ex-voto*<sup>7</sup> from Crocodilopolis (Kîmân Fâres), dated in the fifth year of a Roman Emperor, who must be either Tiberius or Claudius, is addressed πατροπάτορι Σαράπ[ιδι]: the epithet πατροπάτορ is given to Σούχος on a previously published stele of the same provenance<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> [E. BRECCIA,] *Rapport sur la marche du service du Musée en 1912*, Alexandria, 1913. This is known to me only from the summaries in *Berl. phil. Week.* xxxiv, 150, *Rev. Ét. Grecques*, xxi, 485 f., *Ann. Journ. Arch.* xviii, 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Rapport*, p. 36; see J. OFFICER, *Pal. Expl. Fund.*: Q.S., 1914, 45 f., E. BRECCIA, *Revue Israélite d'Égypte*, October 15, 1912, TR. REINACH, *Revue des études juives*, lxx, 135 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Anzeiger*, xxviii, 431.

<sup>4</sup> *Annales du Service*, xiii, 99 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 100.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 101.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 102 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Annales du Service*, ix, 240.

Of greater importance, however, than any of the foregoing is a long and almost perfectly preserved text, elegantly engraved on a limestone stele found in the ruins of Herakleopolis (Aḥnas el-Medīna), and published by the same scholar<sup>1</sup>. It consists of two parts, (A) a covering letter (χρηματισμός) addressed to the general of the Herakleopolite nome by βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα θεᾷ φιλοπά(τ)ρων καὶ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος θεὸς φιλοπά(τ)ρων καὶ φιλομή(τ)ρων, ordering the inscription 'in Hellenic and native letters' of the present letter and the enclosed decree and their exhibition in Herakleopolis and elsewhere in the nome, and (B) the text of the decree (πρόσταγμα), addressed to a certain Theon, probably the διοικητής or supreme financial official of Egypt. The letter is dated April 13, 41 n.c., and we thus have before us the latest extant decree of Cleopatra and her son Ptolemy XVI Caesarion, and therefore of the whole Lagid dynasty. The decree itself relieves from unauthorized taxation the Alexandrians engaged in agriculture and defines precisely the charges to which they are liable<sup>2</sup>.

During his search for papyri on the site of the ancient Antinoë (Sheikh Abāda), near the southern frontier of Middle Egypt, J. de M. Johnson acquired an inscription set up, perhaps in the third century of our era, by the City Council in honour of Flavius Maecius Dionysodorus, a Platonic philosopher who enjoyed the privilege of free sustenance in the Museum at Alexandria<sup>3</sup>.

Passing now to Upper Egypt we find among the texts edited by Lefebvre an interesting *graffito* scratched on a wall of the hypostyle hall at Karnak<sup>4</sup>. It dates from the Augustan period and runs thus: τὸ προ(σ)κύρημα τῶν παλαιστοῶ(ν) τοῦ μεγάλου Σέραπιδος καὶ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς εἰς Διοσπόλεις πάσις. It is doubtful whether this last phrase is to be regarded as a mistaken form of τοῖς ἐν Διοσπόλει πᾶσιν or whether we must take πᾶσις as equivalent to πᾶσας and interpret the words 'all the Diospoleis' as referring to eastern and western, or perhaps to northern and southern, Diospolis. In any case we learn the important fact that at the beginning of the Imperial period the *παλαιστοί* of Serapis united with the Graeco-Egyptian worship of that deity the Roman cult of the Emperor. On the base of a sculptured lion<sup>5</sup> from Tentyra (Dendera) we find the date ἐπὶ Τρύφωνος στρατηγού: Tryphon, who was already known to us from Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.* 659, held office about the year 1 A.D. Another unpublished fragment from Tentyra and a note on an inscription of the same place (*O.G.I.S.* 663) which is now rapidly becoming defaced, conclude Lefebvre's article<sup>6</sup>. A discussion by W. Spiegelberg<sup>7</sup> of the career and activities of Parthenius, *προστάτης* Ἰσιδος at Koptos, to whom a number of Greek and Egyptian inscriptions refer, is of interest as forming a complement to the independent examination<sup>8</sup> of the same subject by A. J. Reinach and R. Weill to which I drew attention a year ago. In the course of a brief popular account<sup>9</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LEFEBVRE, *Mélanges Helleniques*, 103 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In l. 35 the editor writes *προσκηρῆται κατὰ νόμον*, which he translates 'qua ea decreti sūt expresso uniformément à la loi.' But this meaning would be expressed by *κατὰ τὸν νόμον*, nor would Theon require to be reminded of his legal obligations. We need not hesitate, I think, to read *κατὰ νομῶς*: that the decree was to be published in every nome the editor himself assumes on p. 113, 'il dut donc être publié dans tous les nomes.'

<sup>3</sup> *J.E.A.* i, 181: cf. p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 106.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 106 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Annales du Service*, xii, 1 ff., xiii, 48.

<sup>7</sup> *Annales du Service*, xiii, 103 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Zeitschrift f. ög. Sprache*, li, 75 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *J.E.A.* i, 96 ff.

utilization of the upper terrace of the temple of Hatshepsut at Dér el-bahri in Ptolemaic times and down to about 200 A.D. as a sanatorium for Greeks and Romans. J. G. Milne discusses an inscription and numerous *graffiti* scratched or painted on various walls within the precinct by visitors or patients, as well as the Greek alphabet painted in large characters in a niche where Milne tentatively locates 'the local Elementary School.'

The second and third instalments of F. Preisigke's *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* have appeared<sup>1</sup> and contain respectively 2312 and 719 Greek texts from stone, wood, earthenware and papyrus. The task of the editor appears to have been carried out with care and thoroughness, but in view of the fact that no principle is discoverable in the arrangement of the documents here presented, the value of the collection as a whole will depend very largely upon the character and completeness of the indexes which must form its concluding portion.

A few words may be added about two or three recent reviews of works bearing upon Graeco-Egyptian inscriptions. A. Wiedemann has pronounced<sup>2</sup> favourably upon the final sections of the text of Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, to which reference was made in my last Bibliography. To A. Rehm is due a belated but valuable review<sup>3</sup> of G. Lefebvre's *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Égypte*, published in 1907, in which a number of corrections and restorations are suggested in the texts published by Lefebvre. Even more interesting is L. Deubner's review<sup>4</sup> of F. Zucker's *Von Debel bis Bab Kalabsche III*<sup>5</sup>, in the course of which two of Zucker's main conclusions regarding the inscriptions of Wady Kerdasse are called in question. Deubner thinks it probable that the *προσκυρήματα* are addressed to Isis rather than to Pursepmunis and Sruptichis, and has also subjected to a fresh examination the term *γόμεος* which occurs in so many of these inscriptions: he maintains that all the difficulties felt by former scholars disappear if we give to the word the meaning 'transport,' easily derivable from the original signification of the Greek word, 'freight.' The *προστάρης γόμεος* is, then, not the president of a society or guild, but the official appointed to oversee the transport of stones from the quarry to the quay, and similarly the *ιερεὺς (τοῦ) γόμεος* is the priest of the transport.

A considerable number of stamps, *graffiti* and other inscriptions, most of which were previously unpublished, appear in the sumptuous volume<sup>6</sup> devoted to the description and illustration of the objects in earthenware and bone comprised in the Graeco-Egyptian collection of Ernst von Sieglin. They are found on 'Menas-bottles,' *terra sigillata*, an earthenware plaque, vases of various forms, charcoal-holders, a clay mould, bone counters, and a large number of amphora-handles: the originals are in some cases in Egypt, but others are scattered over different collections in Dresden, Tübingen, Stuttgart and elsewhere. I need not deal with these in detail, as all the main classes and individual inscriptions are referred to in the epigraphical index<sup>7</sup>.

Although they lie, strictly speaking, outside the scope of this Bibliography,

<sup>1</sup> Strassburg, K. J. Trübner: 10 M. each.

<sup>2</sup> *Or. Lit.* xvii, 230 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, xii, 525 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Or. Lit.* xvi, 501 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See my summary, *J.E.A.* i, 143.

<sup>6</sup> *Exposition Ernst von Sieglin. Band II. Die griechisch-ägyptische Sammlung Ernst von Sieglin.*

3. Teil, bearbeitet von Rudolf PAGENSTECHE. Leipzig (Giesecke und Devrient): 120 M.

<sup>7</sup> Index iii, p. 250.

I cannot forbear to mention the results, so far as they relate to Greek epigraphy, of the German expedition to Axum in northern Abyssinia. Two inscriptions from 'Abbā Pantalāon have been published for the first time,—a worthless *graffito* and a fragment of a record set up, probably in the first century of our era, by one of the Axomite kings; historically this document would be of great interest were it not for its mutilated condition, for it apparently contains an account of a successful campaign waged on the eastern coast of the Red Sea<sup>1</sup>. Two other inscriptions are republished with a full commentary, that from Däqqi-Mahati set up by So(m)bruthes βασιλεὺς ἐκ βασιλέων Ἀξουμίων<sup>2</sup>, and the famous record of successes won by King Aciaanas (O.G.I.S. 200). The Axomite portion of the *Marmor Adulitanum*, copied in 520 A.D. by the Alexandrian merchant Cosmas Indicopleustes (O.G.I.S. 190), is also translated into German and discussed in great detail<sup>3</sup>, and a conjectural restoration of its form is attempted in the light of extant Axomite remains discovered by the Expedition<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Die deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, Berlin (G. Reimer). Band IV. E. LITTMANN, *Sabäische, griechische und altabessinische Inschriften*, p. 2 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie*, XI, 170 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, I, 42 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *op. cit.* II, 66.

C. MISCELLANEOUS<sup>1</sup> (1913-14)

BY F. LIL GRIFFITH, M.A., F.S.A.

*Explorations.* Fourtau has published the results of a journey in 1904 towards fixing the ancient geography of the coast of the Marmarica from the evidence of the Periplos. Of particular interest are (1) the identification of the site of Paraetonium, the port for the oasis of Ammon, at Mersa Matruh, where there are important remains of a harbour, town and rock-tombs, and (2) the suggestion that Apis should be placed near Ras umm Rokham<sup>2</sup>.

Attention may be drawn to the interesting finds at Antinoë of articles of clothing and objects of daily use by J. de M. Johnson in 1913-14: these date however mostly from the Christian period<sup>3</sup>.

The excavations at Meroë of 1912-13 are described by J. Garstang and W. S. George<sup>4</sup>; those of 1913-14 are summarised by Phythian-Adams<sup>5</sup> and reported on by Garstang, George, and Phythian-Adams<sup>6</sup>. Two great stelae were found inscribed in Meroitic, one of which is considered by Prof. Sayce to be the Ethiopian version of the war between Candace and the Romans under Petronius. Mr Mond's device for tipping buckets from a rope carrier-line<sup>7</sup> should be very useful to excavators needing to remove masses of rubbish to a distance.

*History.* Weigall's *Life and Times of Cleopatra* with its romantic and picturesque reconstruction of the life and ambitions of the famous queen has drawn forth some severe criticism in the newspapers. Mr Milne reviews the book in our *Journal*<sup>8</sup>; and has suggested that a sketch on a jar from the Ibis-cemetery at Abydos is a satirical representation of Antony and Cleopatra<sup>9</sup>.

Is. Lévy discussing the discovery at Cherchel of the statue of a certain high priest of Ptah who is otherwise known to have died on the day of Octavius' entry into Alexandria, explains it by the marriage of Cleopatra Selene to Juba<sup>10</sup>.

A Greek statue in limestone from Atfih representing a Ptolemaic king is published by Edgar who considers that it represented Philadelphus as a divinity<sup>11</sup>.

Guy Dickins discusses portraits attributed to kings of the Ptolemaic dynasty: by comparison with coins he reduces those of Soter to two unsatisfactory examples, and

<sup>1</sup> A few bibliographical notes are here put together on subjects not directly touched upon in the reports on Papyri and Inscriptions, of which I have had the great advantage of seeing a proof.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. Inst. Égyptien*, cinquième Sér. VIII. 39.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann. Archaeol. Liverpool*, VI. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ann. Archaeol. Liverpool*, VII. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *I. p.* 206.

<sup>6</sup> *ib.* 39.

<sup>7</sup> *Rev. Arch.* XXII. 73.

<sup>8</sup> *Journ. Eg. Arch.* I. 189.

<sup>9</sup> *Journ. Eg. Arch.* I. 215.

<sup>10</sup> *Ann. Archaeol. Liverpool*, VI. 22, VII. 25.

<sup>11</sup> *J.H.S.* XXXIII. 50.

transfers one to Philadelphus whose other "portraits" he rejects. Mr Dickins throws doubt on the portraits of Euergetes but accepts one of Philopator<sup>1</sup>.

*Religion.* Sethe upholds against Wilcken's objections his thesis that the *xároχοι* of the Serapeum were persons imprisoned in the temple on account of debt or crime, and that the term had no religious or medical significance such as has been supposed (cf. *Journ. Eg. Arch.* I. 127)<sup>2</sup>.

Legge writes on the Greek worship of Serapis and Isis<sup>3</sup>, and there is an article on Isis in the *Dict. of Religion and Ethics*, by Showerman.

Scott-Moncrieff's *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt* is reviewed by H. [R.] H[all]<sup>4</sup>.

*Literary.* Attention may be drawn to Erman's important treatment of Hermapion's translation, preserved in Ammianus Marcellinus, of the inscription on an Egyptian obelisk (cf. *E. E. F. Journal*, I. 278)<sup>5</sup>; Moyer's correction of Diodorus by Justin Martyr regarding the foundation of the warrior class in Egypt<sup>6</sup>; the article Rampsinitos by Roeder<sup>7</sup>; Wiedemann's review of Marestaing's *Les écritures Égyptiennes et l'antiquité classique*<sup>8</sup>.

*Archæology.* Sayce makes the interesting suggestion that China derived its manufacture of biscuit ware from Meroe<sup>9</sup>.

The currency of Egypt under the Romans with its denominations and values is the subject of a long paper by Milne. According to the evidence of actual finds of coins Ptolemaic bronze circulated as late as the third century, while the bronze coinage of Alexandria practically ceased at the end of the second century. Gold (imperial) coins were always scarce and the silver tetradrachms of Alexandria in course of time deteriorated from a high standard to copper thinly tinned<sup>10</sup>. Some curious leaden tesserae of about the age of Claudius from a grave at Abydos are explained by Mr Milne as tokens given to worshippers for use as amulets<sup>11</sup>.

Of the large collection of Hellenistic and other antiquities made by E. von Sieglin in Egypt, the vessels in stone and pottery and the bone carvings have been published in a sumptuous manner, Rudolf Pagenstecher being responsible for the text<sup>12</sup>. The objects for the most part are from Alexandria or are Alexandrine in character and range from Ptolemaic to Christian and even Moslem date.

A certain number of Gnostic amulets are included in a large collection published by Professor Petrie<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* XXIV. 293.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XXVI. 79.

<sup>3</sup> *Sitzb. of Berlin Academy*, 1914, 245.

<sup>4</sup> *Paul's Real-encycl.* II.

<sup>5</sup> *Ancient Egypt*, I. 145.

<sup>6</sup> *Journ. Eg. Arch.* I. 93.

<sup>7</sup> *Expedition Ernst Sieglin, Band II. Die Griechische-Ägyptische Sammlung*, 3 Teil.

<sup>8</sup> *Amulets illustrated by the Egyptian collection in University College, London.*

<sup>9</sup> *Gött. gel. Anzeiger*, 1914, 385.

<sup>10</sup> *J.H.S.* XXXIII. 393.

<sup>11</sup> *Zeits. Ägypt. Sprache*, LI. 136.

<sup>12</sup> *Orient. Literaturz.* XVII. 406.

<sup>13</sup> *Ann. Archæol. Liverpool*, VII. 51.

## NOTES AND NEWS

THE season's excavations at Ballabish, near Nag' Hamâdi, are proceeding successfully. Professor Whittemore, after working with the British Red Cross in France for several months, left for Egypt at the end of February. It was originally intended to excavate the site of Tell Tibelleh, near Mansûra, in the Delta, but, Professor Whittemore learning on his arrival that rights to half the antiquities found there were owned by natives, this promising site could not, of course, be proceeded with. Sites burdened with prior claims of this sort cannot be touched by the Fund, but must be left to be dealt with by the Department of Antiquities.

Under the circumstances, Professor Whittemore decided to return to the scene of last year's work at Ballabish, in Upper Egypt. He arrived there at the end of March, and was joined by Mr Wainwright on April 10, when work was begun. Mr Wainwright left England on the S.S. *Persia* about March 26. We congratulate him on his having escaped the attentions of the German pirates. The futile murders of the passengers of the *Paluba* had just happened when he left England.

The action of the American Committee in carrying on our work under the joint Anglo-American leadership of Professor Whittemore and Mr Wainwright, is much appreciated as a ready help in time of difficulty, and as a proof that the American public has no belief whatever in the ridiculous German lies about disturbances in Egypt. The fact that Professor Reisner is carrying on "business as usual" at Gizeh, of course, tells Boston that all is well on the banks of the Nile in spite of the absurd inventions of the egregious Herr Knack and the credulity of "Tante Voss." And so Boston keeps the Fund's flag flying in Egypt.

The twenty-second Memoir of the Archaeological Survey has now appeared in the shape of the first volume of Mr Blackman's work on *The Rock Tombs of Meir*. The book contains the record of the Tomb-chapel of Ukh-hotp's son Senbi. It has 33 plates, of which nine are from drawings by Mr Blackman, eight of these being double plates. There are also three coloured plates from paintings by Mr F. F. Ogilvie, reproducing the colouring of the originals, which are in the usual low coloured relief of the XIIIth Dynasty. The majority of the plates are photographic, and are reproduced in colotype. The tombs of Meir are of very great interest from all points of view. Their art is often of unusual style and of unusual excellence, and there is no doubt that the Survey has chosen well in selecting them for publication. We may look forward to a very interesting series of publications and reproductions of these tombs.


We desire to draw the attention of our readers to the first volume of the Theban Tomb Series, now on the point of being issued. (See back page of the cover of this number of the *Journal*.) Owing to the exceptional circumstances of the time, this volume, which should have appeared last autumn, has been delayed until now. The delay, however, has been productive of good, for it has enabled Dr. Gardiner to elaborate the descriptive text far beyond his original intention. The text now fills as many as a hundred and twenty quarto pages, and forms a highly important introduction to the study of the Private Tombs of Thebes, as exemplified, of course, in the particular tomb under consideration. An additional chapter describes the burial equipment of a Theban noble of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and endeavours to explain the religious ideas underlying the same. The plates, as previously announced in these columns, are the work of Mrs. Davie. Three of her admirable paintings are reproduced in colour, and there is also a coloured plate showing the various ceiling-patterns contained in the tomb. Besides these, there are forty-four plates in line and half-tone, constituting an exhaustive record of the scenes and inscriptions in the tomb.

It is exceedingly desirable that members of the Fund and others interested in Egyptian work and records, by their reception of this first volume, will encourage the continuance of the series on as lavish a scale as its commencement.

The two letters from Champollion to Sir William Gell, which we print in this number, are a literary *trouvaille* of some importance, apart from their interest to Egyptologists. They appear to have been unknown to Mlle. Hartleben, when she compiled her exhaustive life of *le grand maître*. But they were also unknown to everybody else, and it is a fortunate chance that has now brought them to light. With them we print a letter in Italian from Seyffarth, describing to Gell his "discovery" of the Turin Papyrus (in reality Champollion had already discovered it); and we hope that in our July number will follow several letters, also previously unknown, from Salt, Wilkinson, and Bunsen to the same correspondent, which were found with others in the same bundle of Sir William's papers, deposited by the latter's executor long ago with Sir Charles Newton at the British Museum. Wilkinson's letters are often amusing, and they bear witness to the untiring industry and acuteness of the English Egyptologist, who, being in Egypt and on the spot, had learnt many things, especially in the domain of Egyptian history, which were as yet hidden from Champollion in France, and remained unknown to him till he went to Egypt himself. We see, however, from Champollion's letters how remarkable was the knowledge to which the great Frenchman had already attained. They are written in his usual clear round hand, the hieroglyphs beautifully turned. Wilkinson's hieroglyphs, though less careful, shew that he had entered as fully as Champollion into the spirit of the old Egyptian writing. It is curious to compare the script of the masters with the crude attempts of the amateurs; such as Gell's copies, sent to Young and facsimiled in Leitch's edition of the latter's works, of the original screeds of Wilkinson that now lie before us. We may congratulate ourselves on the opportunity of publishing these interesting literary remains of the earliest masters of our science.

Part V of the British Museum publication of its hieroglyphic inscriptions ("Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum") has now appeared,

and contains an interesting selection of inscriptions, many of them on monuments hitherto unpublished. Among these of special importance we may mention first the funerary stele of Mentuhotep's son, Antef-âqer (XIth Dynasty), and secondly the inscribed statues of Senmut and of Menkheperreseneb, the great statesmen of the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thothmes III. These are monuments of the first importance, and are among the most outstanding of the recent acquisitions of the national Museum. The stele is a good specimen of the peculiar crude art of the early XIth Dynasty, and the inscription contains much self-praise of a style equally crude. The statues of Senmut and Menkheperreseneb are very fine, as we see from the photographs (the first publication of them) on Plate 32. The inscriptions do not tell us anything much that is new, though the titles are not always the same as those known on other monuments of these dignitaries; for instance, Menkheperreseneb is not First, but Second, Prophet of Amen here, so that the statue was evidently dedicated before his final promotion. On one statue Senmut appears nursing his charge, the Princess Neferure. We congratulate the Trustees of the British Museum upon these important acquisitions.

Among minor monuments, hitherto unpublished, which are given us in this part we note first a pretty little piece of late XIth Dynasty work, a fragment of a stele of a certain Antef, well painted in the style we know from Nebhepetre's funerary temple at Deir el-bahri. This was presented to the Museum lately by the Rt Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon. Another presentation by Lord Carnarvon is a set of four trial-pieces, two of them in fine white limestone, with inscriptions of Hatshepsut. The limestone pieces bear her throne-name, finely cut, with two hieratic lines in ink, one of which contains the name of Senmut, spelt out fully in its proper form Sen-n-Mut, Sennemut ("Brother of Mut"), which is what he ought always to be called. It is evident that the shorter spelling  is intended for this and not for "Senmut."

With these the famous inscription of Anebni is republished. Hitherto unpublished inscriptions of the same period are that of Tetiti, which contains curious titles (Pl. 25), and that of Amenuahsu, chief prophet of Mentu (Pl. 39). There are plenty of interesting smaller stelae; one, unfinished, shewing the king offering to Osiris for the deceased (Pl. 44), and two with names of naval officers of the time of Amenhotep III (Pl. 45, 46), being specially noticeable. The petition of the wives of Thebes to the Golden Hathor-cow of Deir el-bahri, published by Naville and Hall, *XIth Dyn. Temple*, iii, Pl. ix, B; p. 8, is here republished (Pl. 40) in facsimile. "Say," it runs, "O people of Thebes, noble and lowly together, every one coming to Tjesret to tell your desires to the Cow of Gold, the lady of happy life, the mistress of [Akh-asut], the lady of [the West], ... its guardian; may she give us a good child in this house, happiness, and a good husband, bringing [all good things]!" This naïve petition was inscribed on the back of a votive statuette (Brit. Mus. No. 41645).

Mr Morris Gray has been unanimously elected President of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, in succession to the late Mr Gardiner Martin Lane whose death was announced in the last Part of the *Journal*. Mr Gray was elected a Trustee thirteen years ago, and has since served on the Finance Committee and on the Museum Committee.

In 1913 the municipal authorities of Alexandria granted funds to Dr Breccia, the Director of the Alexandria Museum, for the purpose of excavating for antiquities. The grant was made subject to the condition that the excavations should be carried on at some site in Upper Egypt where it was probable that only relics of the Graeco-Roman period, the era of Alexandria's greatest prosperity, were to be expected.

The choice made was that of Hârit, the site of the ancient town of Theadelphia, in the Fayûm, because there, in 1912, the fellahs had uncovered the entrance to the temple of Sebek, the crocodile god, and also because, in 1908, M. Lefebvre had published a Greek inscription concerning this shrine.

The results of the explorations at Hârit have been most satisfactory, and the Alexandria Museum's collections have been materially enriched thereby.

On further clearing away the pylons forming the first doorway of the temple of Sebek, Dr Breccia found engraved upon the cornice an inscription stating that the stone vestibule and pylon had been dedicated in the thirty-fourth year of Ptolemy Energetes II (B.C. 137) to the deity Pnepherôs (*P-nefer-ho*, "the Beautiful-Faced"), or Soknopaios, in honour of Ptolemy and his consort Cleopatra and their children, by Agathodoros and his wife Isidora, citizens of Alexandria. It is singularly appropriate that this first text found should be preserved in the modern museum of the giver's city.

Two crouching lions carved in stone were *in situ* at the entrance which led into a large outer court, around the sides of which numerous doorways opened into various apartments. Recesses also were left in places in the walls which had been covered with stucco so as to form a surface for paintings. The only one of these decorations that is in good preservation depicts a procession of Pnepherôs, who appears as a mummied crocodile bearing a crown. The god is carried by priests upon a kind of stretcher, whilst other priests, some of whom bear palms or flowers, take part in the fête. In this court two sphinxes stood at another doorway that led into a smaller chamber. Beside this entrance was found a column, bearing a Greek inscription setting forth its erection by the corporation of aquatic bird breeders, *χρηοβοσκαί*, in honour of Ptolemy X and Cleopatra III.

A third court was entered by a pyloned doorway, upon one side of which a warrior is shown in full armour with cuirass and spear. His crowned head is surrounded by a radiated nimbus, similar to those that early Christian wall-paintings have rendered familiar to us, a decoration likely to lead to much discussion. An inscription says the fresco was dedicated by Heron Soubattos as an act of gratitude. Upon the other side is another soldier, adorned with the same symbolic nimbus, and also a representation of Pnepherôs, placed as a mummy upon a bier.

This third court opened into the principal chapel of the sanctuary, whose walls are decorated with figures of deities which are mostly effaced. A large and elaborately designed altar, which almost fills this chapel, is a most important relic of Egyptian temple-furniture. The description of the whole edifice and its contents, when published, will be that of a complete sacred edifice of the Ptolemaic period, for the inscriptions found, but not yet edited, prove it to have been erected prior to 137 B.C., and that worship was still celebrated there as late as 163 A.D.

Some explorations made in the ruins of houses adjacent to the temple brought to light a long inscription recording the grant of the privilege of asylum to two other

Theadelphia temples, those of Herakles and of Isis, so that, somewhere near by, these are to be sought for and it is to be hoped found, and their remains saved from destruction.

J. O.

All who are interested in papyrology, and particularly those who have paid special attention to the Byzantine period, will learn with great regret of the death of Jean Maspero, the son of Sir Gaston Maspero, who was killed on the 18th of February last during the French attack on Vauquois in the Argonne. Though it is only a few years since his name became known in connexion with Greek papyri (he was but twenty-nine years old at his death) he had already won for himself a leading place among the workers in this field. His *magnum opus* is, no doubt, the catalogue of the Cairo Byzantine papyri, which it is no exaggeration, in view of its importance for the history of Egypt during the Byzantine period, to call an epoch-making work. Two good-sized volumes, whose contents consist entirely of the Kôm Ishgau papyri, have already been published, but were to be followed by others. So lately as last August, after the outbreak of the war which has brought so tragical a termination to the author's career, I had from him, along with a letter announcing his departure for the front, the proofs of the first part of Volume III, again made up entirely of texts from the Kôm Ishgau find, including the Beaugé papyri, now in the Cairo Museum; but presumably we shall have to wait some time for the appearance of this part, and it is to be feared that the remainder of the catalogue will be held up indefinitely.

Besides this catalogue Jean Maspero had done a great deal of other excellent work. Not only had he published articles on the Kôm Ishgau papyri and several valuable reviews of other papyrus publications, but he brought out in 1913 an excellent volume devoted to the Byzantine army in Egypt (see *Jour. Eg. Arch.* 1, p. 136); and numerous articles from his pen on other matters connected with Egyptian antiquities, particularly in Byzantine and Arab times, have appeared in various places, especially in the *Bulletin* of the Institut français. His knowledge of Arabic, an accomplishment rare among professed papyrologists, gave a special value to his work and renders his loss quite irreparable. Reference may be made in this connexion to his article "Graeco-Arabica" (above, p. 106) and to the important work in collaboration with G. Wiet, on Egyptian topography, of which the first part is noticed above (p. 104). Readers of the *Journal* will unite in sincere sympathy with Sir Gaston Maspero in his loss.

H. I. B.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*Carahemish*. Report on the excavations at Djerabis on behalf of the British Museum, conducted by C. LEONARD WOOLLEY, M.A., and T. E. LAWRENCE, B.A. Part I: Introductory, by D. G. HOGARTH, M.A., F.B.A.

Archaeology has considerably modified our ideas as to ancient history during the last fifty years. Whole periods, absolutely unknown before, have come to our knowledge. When men of my generation were at school, who knew anything of prehistoric archaeology or of the works of primitive man? Before Schliemann dug at Mycrae, who had ever spoken of Mycenaean or, as it is now called, Aegean civilisation? Later still the Hittites, the sons of Heth, have appeared, who once occupied a great part of Western Asia.

The book which we have before us shows us the remains of one of the principal cities of the Hittites, Carahemish on the Euphrates. We have to thank the British Museum for having begun systematic excavations on that spot, where only occasional and unmethodical digging had been done before. Let us hope that circumstances will allow the explorers, Messrs Leonard Woolley and Lawrence, under the able direction of the eminent scholar Mr Hogarth, to resume this most important work, which will undoubtedly throw much light on the history of Western Asia.

*Carahemish* is only a preliminary report but contains very fine plates showing the monuments and especially the Hittite inscriptions that have been discovered. The admirable reproductions of these texts will greatly facilitate the work of scholars engaged in deciphering the Hittite hieroglyphs and language.

After a short preface by Sir Frederick Kenyon, the introduction, written by Mr Hogarth, gives us a description of the locality, of the appearance of the mound, and of the work which had been attempted on this extensive mound before the year 1908, when Sir E. Maunde Thompson requested Mr Hogarth to explore the notable sites on the Euphrates. The result of this survey, was that Djerabis was chosen as the site which contained an important Hittite centre, and in the early spring of 1911 the first digging party settled on the mound.

Djerabis is the name of two villages in a hill-girt plain on the right bank of the Euphrates. At the northern extremity of the plain is a large ancient site called El Kalaat. Attention was first directed to it by Henry Maundrell, who visited it in 1699 and who described a monument which he saw on the mound "a beast resembling a lion." He called the place Isarabolus. Pecoche, who passed the place in 1737, conjectured it to be Gerrhae and saw there only late remains.

Various travellers visited the place at more recent dates, the most noticeable of whom is Alexander Drummond, sometime British Consul at Aleppo, who was the first to reproduce the Hittite relief which has been in the British Museum since 1881. No attention was given to Djerabis until, in 1870, W. H. Skene, Consul at Aleppo, pointed it out to the late George Smith, who went there and at once declared it to be the site of Carahemish.

George Smith, who lost his life in a second journey to this place, left in his diary a description and sketches of the monuments he saw there. On these remains he recognized the Hittite hieroglyphs and specimens of Hittite art. This diary drew the attention of the Trustees of the British Museum to the importance of making excavations at Djerabis.

Several attempts were made, especially by Consul Henderson, but no regular and systematic excavations were carried out until the spring of 1911. It is much to be regretted that nothing was done earlier, for several monuments have disappeared in various ways, some of them having been

broken and carried off by a miller. Millstones—we have many instances of it in Egypt—have often been the end of valuable remains of antiquity.

The object of the second chapter of the book is to set forth the reasons for identifying Djerabis, or, as the Turks call it, Djerablîs, with Carchemish, as Skene and George Smith maintained. Although no cuneiform tablet has yet been found on the spot giving the name of the locality, the evidence derived from Egyptian and Assyrian documents seems conclusive. Djerabis is the old Carchemish. This name is transcribed in various ways in Assyrian as well as in Egyptian. The reason of this is obvious. The scribe, whoever he was, expressed as well as he could, with the letters he had at his disposal, the sound which he heard. For him, there was no system, no fixed rule, no scientific transcription as the learned of the present day have adopted. His spelling was ruled by his ear and therefore two scribes could have a different spelling, especially if they had lived at different periods. To this must be added what is called popular etymology, namely the natural tendency of a man who when pronouncing a foreign name, finds a syllable or a word, the sound of which is familiar to him, although its sense is absolutely different from the original. Numerous examples of this fact may be found in our time in countries which are a kind of neutral territory between two languages, like Alsace or some of the cantons of Switzerland, where German and French are spoken. Many villages or towns have two names which sound more or less alike, but which have quite a different sense. We have an instance of this fact at Djerabis, where the name of Europus or Oropus is the Hellenic or Roman form of the Syrian Agbropus or Agtrîpos. In the interpretation of names, conformity of sound and popular etymology which should in most cases be the ruling element, have been too often set aside for learned philological laws which are not observed, even at the present day.

The Introduction does not go farther than the name of the city. It is only a beginning, and we shall welcome the account of the excavation, as well as the archaeological and historical conclusion which may be derived from the interesting finds so well reproduced in the beautiful plates of the book. We have to congratulate Mr Hogarth and his fellow workers on their successes, and we can only hope that they will soon be digging again on the mound from which very important results may be expected. It will be of great interest to know the history of one of those cities of Western Asia which succeeded in reaching a certain amount of power, without building up a great kingdom, and which occasionally associated with others against a common enemy like the king of Egypt, and formed with the neighbouring cities a kind of confederacy.

Naturally the efforts of scholars will be more and more directed towards the deciphering and translation of those inscriptions, of which we now have a great number. And here, a preliminary question arises. Are the Hittite hieroglyphics merely what I should call an epigraphic writing, I mean a writing primarily and perhaps exclusively intended for inscriptions on stone, or is it a book writing, used on tablets like the cuneiform, or on papyrus and skin, like the Aramaic? Were there archives in the Hittite hieroglyphics, like those in cuneiform of Boghasken? This important question can be solved only by excavations, and this strengthens still more the wish which we expressed before, that next year may see Mr Hogarth, Mr Woolley and Mr Lawrence working again at Djerabis.

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

*The Golden Bough: Adonis, Attis, Osiris; Studies in the History of Oriental Religion.* By J. G. FRAZER, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D. Third Edition, revised and enlarged. In two volumes: Vol. I, pp. xviii + 317; Vol. II, pp. x + 321. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1914. 20s. nett.

This much expanded edition of one of the most interesting portions of the *Golden Bough* bears fresh testimony to its author's prodigious learning and industry. So greatly have the sections dealing with Osiris been amplified, that they now fill the greater part of a second volume, the remainder of which is devoted to following up sundry by-paths that had to be passed over in the course of the main exposition. The central thesis of the work is too well known to require more than a very brief re-statement here: it is sought to prove that Adonis, Attis and Osiris were all three, in their origin, "personifications of the great yearly vicissitudes of nature, especially of the corn," their myths and ritual being considered to point unmistakably in this direction. In the case of Osiris, which alone can be considered in this review, the devotion of many ages had induced his worshippers to

heap upon him the attributes and powers of many other gods; hence it became needful to make the attempt to "peel off these accretions and to exhibit the god, as far as possible, in his primitive simplicity" (Vol. II, p. 3).

The problem is thus essentially one of origins; it is not contended merely that one of the aspects under which Osiris was sometimes regarded was that of a god of fertility, especially vegetable fertility, but further that this was his original function, from which accordingly all other functions ascribed to him were ultimately evolved. Such at least was the impression left by a careful reading of the earlier parts of the book, though not infrequently the argument became so elusive as to raise serious doubts as to whether this interpretation was not too rigorous. In a new chapter on the origin of Osiris (Vol. II, ch. xi) the reader's discomfiture is completed by the new hypothesis that Osiris, "though in the main a god of vegetation and of the dead," was in reality an ancient king divinized, around whose memory the mythical elements later gathered like ivy round a ruin. A number of extremely interesting African parallels are quoted in support of this point of view, and provide analogies which Egyptologists will henceforth be forced to take into consideration<sup>1</sup>.

One would be reconciled to the inconsistency involved, or at least apparently involved, in this final chapter if it really took one a step farther back. Unfortunately, the relationship between the vegetation-theory of Osiris and the kingship-theory is nowhere distinctly formulated. What Egyptologists wish to know about Osiris beyond anything else is how and by what means he became associated with the processes of vegetable life, if originally he was a king; if, on the other hand, he was originally a spirit of vegetation, how and by what means did he become connected with the kingship? M. Moret and Miss Murray suggest a third and very interesting possibility, which appears to be directly deduced from the analogies suggested by Dr Frazer; for them, unless I have misunderstood their meaning, power over the processes of nature is an attribute inherent in early views of kingship. If, therefore, Osiris was an ancient king, or even the deified conception of kingship as it passed from Pharaoh to Pharaoh, the conception of him also as a spirit of vegetation would necessarily be involved in that fact.

Dr Frazer's book fails to satisfy largely for the reason that it offers no dynamical explanation of the various aspects under which Osiris was viewed. This is less apparent, however, in the chapters on Osiris as sun-god and as moon-god, though it is perhaps not an adequate explanation of the former identification to say that it arose from the attempt to amalgamate and unify the local cults (p. 122), nor a correct explanation to account for the latter identification as due to the theory that all things grow and decay with the waxing and waning of the moon (p. 132). This last hypothesis makes the view of Osiris as a moon-god directly derivative from the view of him as a god of vegetation; now it is precisely the view of him as a god of vegetation the evidence for which it is so difficult at present to evaluate.

A few early passages from the Pyramid Texts and elsewhere have been quoted in support of the interpretation of Osiris as the source of all vegetable life; but apart from the feasts the evidence, so far as the Old Kingdom is concerned, must be admitted to be very scanty and indecisive, and is completely outweighed by the evidence testifying to his kingly character. In the sculptures, as well as in the hieroglyphs, it is always in the guise of a king that Osiris appears; and this aspect, too, is inseparable from his myth and his cult. That such is the case is, of course, admitted to some extent in the book here under review; but it does not there form, as surely it ought, the starting-point of the author's thesis. What is yet more serious, no importance at all is attached to the fact that it is always as a *dead* king that Osiris appears, the *role* of the living king being invariably played by Horus, his son and heir. This dual relationship of Horus and Osiris as living and dead king respectively has been far too much neglected hitherto, although it underlies not only the whole of the funerary cult of the Pharaohs but also the whole of the daily ritual in the temple. For lack of attention to this point some important features in connection with the calendrical festivals have been misunderstood or overlooked. There is abundant evidence to show that the main *festal* celebrations in connection with Osiris took place in the latter half of the fourth month of the season of Inundation (fourth month of the year), which was the month of Hathor

<sup>1</sup> The importance of this class of evidence has been as much undervalued by some Egyptologists as it has been overrated by others. The admirable paper by Dr Seligman and Miss Murray on the royal pismis (*Mon.* 1911, no. 27) provides an excellent example of the use to which anthropological evidence can be put as a last resource when the hieroglyphic evidence affords no help.

according to the old style<sup>1</sup>. From the eighteenth day of this month to the twenty-fifth were made and watered those remarkable Osiris-beds of barley on which our author rightly lays much stress<sup>2</sup>. On the twenty-second day of the month occurred the time-honoured ceremony of the "hacking up of the earth," which also hints at an agricultural aspect of these festivals<sup>3</sup>. The twenty-sixth day was the Memphite festival of Sokaris, which has been shown by Sethe to be as much connected with the kingship as it was with the reanimation of Osiris<sup>4</sup>. The culmination of the Osirian feast days took place on the thirtieth and last day of the month, the day of the "raising of the *Dead-column*" (see Frazer, p. 108)<sup>5</sup>. Now this day was clearly and incontestably the day of the resurrection of Osiris; but—and this is the point particularly to be emphasized—the resurrection of Osiris on this day was not that of a young and vigorous god of vegetation, but that of a dead king recalled in the tomb to a semblance of his former life. The evidence for this contention is overwhelming; the Denderah inscription explicitly describes the thirtieth day of the fourth month as the day of "raising the *Dead-column* in Busiris, the day of the interment of Osiris<sup>6</sup>." On the next day, the first day of the first month of Pwet or spring-tide, a great festival was celebrated throughout the land, the festival called Kholakh or Nebub-kau<sup>7</sup>. This last name means "uniting the

<sup>1</sup> Much confusion is being caused by the retention, in Egyptological books, of the month-names in their later positions as renderings for hieroglyphic datings by month (1 to 4) and season. Since my discovery that Mesori, and not Thoth, was originally the first month of the civil year the month-names have acquired a regrettable ambiguity, since it is seldom clear to students without a knowledge of hieroglyphs whether the old style or new style is being referred to, and it is apt not to be realized that the hieroglyphic texts almost invariably date by the number of the month in one of the three seasons. In view of the significance of the feast named Kholakh to be pointed out below it is obviously most misleading to call the festival of Osiris in the fourth month the festival "of the month of Kholakh," as Dr Frazer, following Professor Lorei, does (p. 86).—With regard to the shifting of the month-names one place backwards I would venture to refer Dr Frazer to my original article *Mesori as first month of the Egyptian Year* in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 43 (1907), pp. 137 foll. Professor Eduard Meyer's fresh treatment in *Nachträge zur ägyptischen Chronologie* merely adds to my data and conclusions an astronomical explanation of the shift, which although very ingenious, I now believe to be incorrect. I hope soon to be able to put forward a new and more convincing explanation.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the Ptolemaic evidence for the date at which this was formed there is important earlier testimony in the Theban tomb of Nefertopis, dating from the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty; see DAVIES-GARDNER, *The Tomb of Nefertopis*, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> A vast fragmentary inscription found by Mr Legrain at Karnak carries the authority for this date back to the reign of Tutimosis III; in the calendar of Rameses III at Medinet Habu (BARNARD, *Thebanus*, p. 364) the same day is indicated. Dr Frazer does not appear to allude to this feast.

<sup>4</sup> The precise evidence for the date of the festival of Sokaris does not go back farther than the calendar of Medinet Habu (see last note), which corresponds exactly to the Ptolemaic data. But there is other approximate evidence extending back as far as the Old Kingdom. In the tomb of Nefertopis (see above note 2) it falls between the twenty-fifth day (called the day of *styt*, i.e. perhaps the "divinization" of Osiris, see too at Medinet Habu) and the first day of the next month, the exact date being lost in a lacuna. In the Middle Kingdom list of feasts from Illahun (GURTT, *Kahun papyri*, Pl. 25 and p. 51) it is mentioned as belonging to the fourth month. In the list of festivals commonly occurring in the mastabas of the Sixth Dynasty, the order of which has far more importance than is usually attributed to it, the feast of Sokaris is the first-named after that of Wag on the 10th day of the first month; I cannot identify the "Great Feast" which immediately follows it; is it perhaps another name for the feast of Kholakh? The importance of the festival of Sokaris from the point of view of the kingship is well brought out by Professor Sethe in his *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens*, vol. III, pp. 183-188, who indicates its connection with the feast of "raising the *dead-column*" and the feasts celebrated on the first day of the fifth month; in the paragraphs quoted the relations between the history of Memphis and the history of the kingship are the subject of the discussion, a fact which doubtless explains why the significance of these festivals for the legend of Osiris and Horus is almost wholly ignored.

<sup>5</sup> See BARNARD, *Matériaux pour servir à la reconstruction du calendrier*, pl. D = *Revue de Trévoux*, vol. 5, p. 33: "As for the fourth month, last day, the raising of the *dead-column* (takes place) in Busiris, on this day of interring Osiris in the 'Region of Bah' in the vault under the Ashed-tree, since it is on that day that the divine limbs of Osiris entered into him after the bandaging of Osiris."

<sup>6</sup> See my article quoted above, in footnote 1, and for the connection of the feast with Horus and the king. SETHE, *op. cit.*

has," and may refer to a far distant historical occasion on which union and concord were proclaimed throughout the whole of Egypt on the accession of a new King, a new Horus. In corroboration of this view a few significant pieces of evidence may be adduced. On the walls of the temple of Medinet Habu the festival of Khoiakh is named as the theoretical date of the accession of Ramesses III, though his actual day of accession is elsewhere placed at quite a different position in the calendar<sup>1</sup>; this can only be, of course, because the festival of Khoiakh was considered the right and proper occasion for any Pharaoh to ascend the throne. Again, in Edfu the feast of the first day of the first month of Ptoet is named "the New Year's day of the Horus of Edfu," meaning, as Professor Sethe has rightly perceived, the day when Horus of Edfu claimed to have assumed the kingship<sup>2</sup>. Lastly, the first day of the first month of Ptoet is mentioned as the conventional date fixed for the celebration of the periodic *Sed*-festival<sup>3</sup>.

The *Sed*-festival interests Dr Fraser for a particular reason, since following Professor Petrie and others he believes it to commemorate the identification of the king with the dead Osiris, who by the same act was reborn and rejuvenated in his own person (pp. 153-7). The evidence quoted above would seem to indicate a different thing; on the thirtieth day of the fourth month of Inundation Osiris, having been brought back to a sort of life by a series of complicated rites, was decently buried and done with; on the next day occurred the glorious accession of Horus, his son and heir, whether commemorated in the annual public feast of Khoiakh, or in the local festival of Edfu, or in a simulated coronation of the reigning monarch, or in the renewal of the act of accession known as the *Sed*-festival. What then, as against this view, is the evidence that the king, at the *Sed*-festival, impersonates Osiris? Nothing more, so far as early times are concerned, than a general resemblance of costume and insignia<sup>4</sup>. Dr Kees<sup>5</sup> has had little difficulty in showing that the long robe, the crook and the flail are merely the characteristic ancient attributes of the king in his festival garb; if Osiris exhibits this appearance on the monuments it is because he too is *par excellence* a king. The late coffin at Berlin quoted to prove that the king at the *Sed*-festival impersonated Osiris proves nothing of the kind: the dead man was identified with Osiris and Osiris was a king; as king Osiris might well aspire to the same privilege as all other kings enjoyed, namely that of having "countless *Sed*-festivals." Thus, negatively, there is nothing to show that the king in the *Sed*-festival was, or thereby became, an Osiris; but further, there is positive evidence besides that of the date above-quoted that he there played the part of Horus, and not of Osiris. In the Saitic (not Middle Kingdom) sculptures of the *Sed*-festival discovered by Professor Petrie at Memphis the king is always accompanied by his Horus-name; in the Festival-hall of Bubastis there are constant references to Horus as the central person of the festival, such as the words, "Joyful are the *Sed*-festivals of Horus eternally" (NAVILIA, *Festival Hall of Osorkon II*, pl. 9, fragm. 13) or the words, "Horus arises, he has assumed the two feathers" (*op. cit.*, pl. 14, fragm. 1). Apart from this, I know of no evidence anywhere among Egyptian texts in which the living Pharaoh is assimilated to Osiris, or the dead Pharaoh to Horus; in other words, it is in death alone that the monarch's transformation from Horus into Osiris was effected<sup>6</sup>.

Yet it seems likely that the accession of Horus was equivalent to a renewal of the reign<sup>7</sup> of Osiris himself, since as we have seen every Horus-king was a potential Osiris. This however is a new point barely touched upon in the book before us, and one which requires careful examination. This point settled, there would arise the question as to how far Horus as well as Osiris could be regarded as a spirit of vegetation; and if an affirmative answer were given to this question it would then become necessary to seek an explanation for the fact. Meanwhile I hope to have shown that the festivals in the latter half of the fourth month and ending on the first day of the fifth are ostensibly a *drama of the kingship* as exemplified in the mythical history of Osiris and Horus. It is from this point that one must start out in any investigation of the question as to how far the myth of Osiris symbolizes, or is connected with, the annual growth and decay of vegetation.

From a somewhat superficial consideration of the facts I cannot help feeling that Dr Fraser is

<sup>1</sup> See BUNSEN, *Thesaurus*, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> See SETHE, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> H. Kees, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 163-8; I would venture to recommend this interesting book, though in parts obscure and unsatisfactory, to the careful attention of students.

<sup>5</sup> This divinization perhaps took place on the twenty-fifth day of the fourth month, in the midst of the ceremonies of the embalment, see above, p. 123, n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Hardly however a re-birth; Horus was supposed to be born long before his accession.

right in regarding the dates of the Osirian festivals as dependent in some way upon the great annual events of the agricultural calendar. That the rites of "hacking up the earth" and laying the Osiris-beds of barley occur in the midst of the Osiris festivals of the fourth month are facts the great antiquity of which must be presumed and the significance of which cannot be denied. Can it be a mere coincidence that the death and burial of Osiris should be supposed to take place at the very moment when the season of inundation (Akhet) was drawing to a close, and that the accession of Horus should be fixed on the very first day of the season of Spring (Ptot)? But what of harvest? With regard to harvest Dr Fraser himself has not succeeded in unearthing much evidence to connect it with the Osirian solemnities; nevertheless some evidence is available, and it is of a most curious and interesting kind. We know from various sources that the first day of the ninth month of the year, in fact the first day of the first month of the season of Summer (Shomu), was a great harvest-festival celebrated throughout the length and breadth of Egypt. The deity of this month was the cobra-goddess Ernûtet or Ernûttet, whence the later name of the month Pharmuthi (*Fa-Rmut*, the month of "the festival of Ernûtet," the eighth month according to the later style)<sup>1</sup>. On the first day of the month "the lady of the granary," Ernûtet, was supposed to have given birth to Nepri the corn-god<sup>2</sup>. Possibly on the very same day, or else on the first new-moon of the same month<sup>3</sup>, was celebrated the great harvest-festival of Min, which is depicted in the sculptures of the temple of Medinet Habu; the King Ramesses III is there represented with a sickle in his hand making offering of a newly reaped sheaf of barley. Now the most interesting feature of this festival is the extraordinary prominence which it accords both to the idea of the kingship and to the Osiris-Horus story; it is plain that the Pharaoh here impersonates Horus "reaping the barley for his father" Osiris, and thereby vindicating his title to the kingship—his patrimony as son of Osiris. I am unable to resist the temptation of referring to the scene where the four sons of Horus despatch geese to the four quarters of the world to announce the news that "Horus son of Isis and Osiris has assumed the great crown of Upper and Lower Egypt; the King Ramesses III, has assumed the great crown of Upper and Lower Egypt." Min himself in this festival is indirectly but clearly enough identified with Horus and consequently, I suppose, with the Pharaoh; this is doubtless the moment of all moments when he most triumphantly manifests his generative powers, and so earns his common epithet of Min-Har-nakht, i.e. "Min-Horus the powerful." Further, it seems highly significant in connection with the problem here in view that Min, in these scenes at Medinet Habu, is more than once called Ka-mûtaf (Kamaphis) "bull of his mother," a familiar qualification of Horus as the marital substitute of Osiris.

Thus the harvest-festival of the ninth month falls into line in the interconnected series of festivals relating to the kingship on the one hand and to the Osiris-Horus legend on the other. I will further point out in passing that the sixth month of the year (old style) had likewise Min as its god and bore the name Shefôdet, i.e. probably "the swelling of the barley," which appears to connect it with the same series of feasts<sup>4</sup>. Lastly, the feast of Meoré at the beginning of the first month of the inundation (again old style) was not only the birthday of the sun-god Rê, but also that of the form of Horus identified with him (Har-ekhlut "Horus of the horizon"); the goddess of that feast was Sobhis-Isis, thus linking it up with the Osiris cycle; and this New Year's Day, like the beginning of the two other great seasons of the year, was regarded as a natural and auspicious moment for the accession of the Pharaoh.

I must confess I do not see, at present, exactly where the facts detailed above lead us. The direct stimulus given by Dr Fraser's most interesting and suggestive book has led me to a somewhat

<sup>1</sup> See my aforementioned article on the month-names.

<sup>2</sup> Breasted, *Thesaurus*, pp. 303-4, from two Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

<sup>3</sup> See WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs* (ed. Brierley), Vol. III, pl. 60, opposite p. 252. The dating reads as follows: "On the first month of summer, the festival of Min, which is made at the festival going-forth of the Protector of the Moon (*hwi-I'w*)"; the exact meaning of this phrase is apparently unknown. So in the common festival list of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty mastabas the "Going Forth of Min" often follows the mention of the festival of the Heat (*Râh*), the name shared by the seventh and eighth months of the older reckoning; see for example MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, pp. 282, 311, 341.

<sup>4</sup> See E. MÉRIG, *Nachträge zur ägyptischen Chronologie*, tabular list opposite p. 16; also Breasted, *Thesaurus*, pp. 306-7.

novel view of the above closely interrelated set of festivals; in the light in which I now see them they are all intimately connected in the first place with the death and burial of Osiris and the rising up of Horus in his stead, in the second place with the kingship, and in the third place with the seasons of the agricultural year. The development of a consecutive theory of Osiris must at this point be left to others. May I be permitted to urge upon hieroglyphic students the absolute necessity for a careful collection of the facts, before such premature and daring theories are launched into the world as some of those which Sir James Frazer, for want of sounder information, has often been compelled to use as a basis for his conclusions. They would do well to take as a model his own almost exhaustive and highly valuable marshalling of the classical evidence, a domain where he, of course, speaks as a master.

ALAN H. GARDINER.

*Les Civilisations Préhelléniques dans le bassin de la Mer Egée.* By REXÉ DUSSAUD. Second edition, revised and enlarged, with 325 illustrations and 18 coloured plates. 492 pp. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1914. 24 francs.

This is one of the rare cases where a second edition marks a real advance on the first. The text is increased by 170 pages, and, what is still more important, there are 118 new illustrations and 16 new plates. Of these, two are useful tables of ancient alphabets and chronological synchronisms, and no less than five are coloured plates, including among them good reproductions of the restored Tiryns bear hunt, of one of the sides of the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, and of Mr Seager's beautiful vase from Mochlos, in which orange red paint survives beyond Middle Minoan II. This wealth of illustrations would of itself make Dussaud's book worth possessing. The text itself has been increased by a great deal of matter on continental Greece and Troy which was taken for granted in the first edition, and there is a new and useful chapter on Aegean influence on Egypt and Syria. It may be noticed that Dussaud, though he mentions several times in footnotes G. A. Wainwright's article on the "Keftin people," does not show that he appreciates the fundamental fact which Wainwright has brought out, that the word "Keftin" is not mentioned at all on the tomb of Senmut, with its undoubtedly Minoan people and objects. Even those who do not agree with Wainwright's conclusions as a whole, should be grateful to him for clearing away an error which, if ordinary care had been taken, should never have crept into the discussions on the subject.

Dussaud does not often challenge accepted theories, but one of the few he does criticise is that which emphasises the lack of fortifications at Knossos and Phaestos. He suggests that the west wall was built for defence, and points to the strong lower course still standing, and to the angles and returns that break the line as *redans* by which an enemy could be taken in the flank. Above the magazines, he conjectures, and overlooking the west court, were the quarters of the men-at-arms who formed the palace garrison. Similarly he thinks the terrace and steps, which run at right angles to the great staircase at Phaestos, and bound what is generally called its Theatral Area, were really a military device for taking an enemy in flank.

It may be admitted, when we are weighing these suggestions, that the sea power of Knossos has been accepted too readily as a complete explanation of the facts. It treats Crete too much as a unit throughout Minoan history, and ignores the remarkable evidence of the towers that are in sharp contrast to the houses on the Knossos faience plaques. On the other hand, Dussaud's argument as to the west wall at Knossos is unconvincing. Its material is of gypsum, not of the stronger limestone of which the admitted bastions on the north are formed. Whereas, too, their stone courses are preserved to some height, the west wall, only three feet from the ground, was formed of brick and rubble. The thickness of the lower course need not be explained on the fortification theory. Its seven feet may well have been meant to keep heat and damp from the store magazines on which it abutted. That such considerations were operative elsewhere is shown by the fact that the stone cists in the Long Gallery were not only lined with lead, but also separated on the outside from the surrounding masonry by a layer of absorbent red earth. The composite character of the West Wall's lower course suggests the same object. It consists of two gypsum slabs joined by wooden beams and filled with a core of rubble.

Dussaud, too, when suggesting that the halls above the West Court were barracks, should have remembered the character of the objects that have fallen from them. The carved frieze of limestone and the myrtle sprays and girl's head which survive from their frescoes should at least make one pause before ascribing to them such a character.

Further, the salients and returns, if designed for flanking, are scarcely effective. The sections into which the wall is divided are probably due to architectural considerations, and correspond to the grouping of the halls in the upper story. The same objection of ineffectiveness applies to Dussaud's explanation of the north terrace wall of Phaestus. It was itself commanded by higher ground in the rear, and there was no need for an enemy to direct his attack on its front. We can only adapt Collet, and end the matter with a "*Nemo sic pugnat.*"

If we wish to draw the true inference from the towers of the Knossos plaques, we must notice their date. They belong to Middle Minoan III. It can scarcely be a coincidence that Sir Arthur Evans's latest excavations (*J. H. S.* xxxiii, 1913, pp. 361-2) have revealed an early palace "keep," which includes the area of the deep walled pits, already recognised as dungeons. Its foundations descend seven metres, and courses of the Upper Wall of large roughly hewn blocks are preserved on two sides. The work dates from the beginning of Middle Minoan I. Evidence of a similar kind is possibly forthcoming from Gournia, where the late Minoan town is without doubt wall-less, but remains of a massive wall north of the town have suggested to Mrs Hawes that an earlier settlement may have been walled. It looks as if the true view of the matter is that fortifications existed in Crete through the Middle Minoan period, but that when Knossos won supremacy at the beginning of the late Minoan age, she discouraged them for her subject cities, while she did not need them for herself.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

*The Dawn of History.* By J. L. MYRES, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate, n. d. (Home University Library.)

This little book is one of the most notable contributions to Messrs Williams and Norgate's useful series. Professor Myres sketches with incisive and illuminating phraseology the dawn of history in the various divisions of the European and Mediterranean world, beginning with Egypt and ending with the German and Scandinavian North. The Semitic East is included, because, though the Semites were always more alien from Europe than the Egyptians ever were, their geographical position made their influence upon nascent European culture always important. If, as seems probable, the civilization of Crete and the Aegean originated in the Nile valley, Egypt appears to have been the ultimate mother of all European culture. No *origines* of our civilization can be postulated in the Sumerian-Semitic East: the civilization of Western Asia was strange and foreign to us. But its influence was always more or less apparent. When Persia comes upon the scene we recognize kinship of race with Europe, but Persian culture, though originally no doubt kin with that of the northern shores of the Black Sea and so with that of Southern Russia and the Danube valley, was so overlaid with Babylonian elements that it can only be regarded as foreign. Historical connexions, again, however, forbid us to separate Persian culture entirely from that of the Mediterranean world: it is only between Persia and India that a line of demarcation can be fixed, and it is there that Professor Myres halts in his survey.

His book admirably sums up our knowledge of the beginnings of civilization in the central portion of the earth, within the bounds stated above. Like all modern writers who are not avowedly describing political history in the first place, he lays great stress upon geographical and climatic influences in the shaping of the fortunes of the nations. Political history indeed is impossible for the early days except in the cases of Egypt and the Semites: for Greece, Italy, and Central and Northern Europe we possess no records which enable us to frame any. The political history of Egypt, of Babylonia, and of part of Western Asia, as we know it, only comes into the purview of a historian of the Dawn on account of its great age, which makes it contemporary with the absolute dawn in the European lands, and because, in the case of Egypt at any rate, we possess it almost right back to the beginning of things. For Europe and for Asia Minor we can only say that things probably went so, as geography, natural conditions, and climate conditioned them.

Professor Myres's wide knowledge of the literature of history and archaeology enables him to give us an account of the dawn in Egypt and the Semitic East not only brilliant in form but also entirely reliable in matter. When all is so good the reviewer can only exercise his function in pointing out a slip here and there, as when, on p. 67, King Den is made to belong to the Fourth Dynasty, and on p. 70 the statement is made that the hieratic script was already well developed under the First: one would have preferred to say that *linear hieroglyphics*, rather, were well developed then; hardly *hieratic*. But it is difficult to draw the line between the two, for that time. On p. 80 we note a *lupine calami*; the Carian and Ionian invaders and mercenaries of the XXVth Dynasty are called 'Iron' instead of 'Bronze Men from the Sea.' Talking of iron, Professor Myres rightly draws attention to the fact, usually ignored by students of pre-history, that iron was quite well known to the early Egyptians, and occasionally used by them, though they did not properly enter the Iron Age till they came into regular contact with Europe some three thousand years later. On p. 144 the very interesting early sea-commerce between Egypt and the Lebanon-district is well described, and the position of Egypt then as a manufacturing nation, sending her products to Syria in exchange for the wood that she lacked, is clearly put before us.

In dealing with Assyria, Professor Myres draws a parallel, now painfully apparent to us, between that militarist land and modern Germany. "Like other late-comers," he writes on p. 132, "Assyria seems to have been first used and exploited by its neighbours; then respected and feared, as its power grew and its determination was realized. Like England in the sixteenth century, and United Germany in our own day, Assyria seems to have discovered rather suddenly that it had claims to a 'place in the sun'; and to have worked with notable determination and great foresight to secure this place for itself: though not without severe set-backs, and more than one collapse which might well have seemed decisive. Omitting details, and concentrating attention on the broadest outlines, we reduce the perennial problems of any possible state in the geographical position of Assyria to three: the problems of Babylonia, of the Northern Highland, and of the Nearer West. So long as Assyria could keep these three sets of enemies apart, and deal with them in detail or play them off against each other, there was some hope of success. If any two of them joined forces, the situation became serious for Assyria. If the *estates* included all three, disaster was at hand; and it was a triple estate of this kind that at last brought Nineveh to its fall."

The parallel is complete: the diplomatic situation for Assyria was just that which in Germany's case Bismarck knew so well how to manage, but which the *Epigonen* have so woefully mismanaged.

And when we turn back to p. 127 we read of Assyria's tribal god: "No Assyrian monarch dared ascribe his achievements but to the command and the ruling of Ashur....No aggression was too unprovoked, no atrocity too cruel, to be perpetrated on the enemies of 'Ashur, my good Lord.' No ancient nation—not even Rome—has practised *real-politik*, as modern Germany calls it, with the callous fanaticism, the sheer indifference to humane pretences, which mark Assyrian warfare and, still more, Assyrian diplomacy. What its expectant victims thought of it is written large in Jewish prophecy."

If Britain is Carthage (and we may be proud of the fact, why not?), Germany is Assyria. She is not Rome: she is too logical and too well organized: some say over-organized. And, exactly like Assyria but utterly unlike Rome, she has no political sense: she does not know how to govern, no more than the Assyria of Sennacherib does she know how *pacare subiectis*: witness Elsass.

After this disquisition upon a most suggestive and accurate parallel, which shews how always like causes produce like effects, we find our space contracted in which to comment further upon Professor Myres's book. We must resolutely eschew further parallels of our own, such as that of the analogy of Urartu's position in regard to Assyria to that of Serbia *vis-à-vis* the Central Powers, and that of Mushkaya in regard to Urartu to that of Bulgaria in relation to Serbia: they are easy to make. In dealing with Western Asia at an earlier period, Professor Myres mistakes, we think, in connecting the Hittites with the Hyksos (p. 153). The Hyksos proper names which we know are distinctly Semitic. There may have been a few Anatolians or Indo-European "Minniunians" among them, but their leaders, and no doubt the majority of their host, must have been Semites. In talking of the Hittites and the legends of the Amazons, the latter surely cannot be described as "hen-peckers" (p. 155). A hen-pecker must be a wife-beater. The Amazons were "pecking hens," rather.

In dealing with prehistoric Greece, Professor Myres speaks with the full authority of first-hand

knowledge, and what he says is most profitable. The description of Minoan art on p. 180 is very good. He quite rightly implies on p. 146 that the *Phoeniz* of the early Greeks may not have been originally a Sidonian 'Phoenician' at all, but a Minoan Cretan. This is explained the always improbable tale of Phoenicians at Boeotian Thebes: the Kadmeians were Cretan immigrants, not Phoenicians at all. On p. 219 there is a misprint of "Libybaeum" for "Lilybaeum": we cannot comment further on this part of the book except to say that in the Italian chapter the foreign and non-Aryan character of the Etruscans is properly emphasised. The latest research is bringing them into close connection with the early Cretans. In the Scandinavian chapter (p. 249) we notice the phrase "at Bohuslän," which should be "in Bohuslän": the *län* or county of Bohus.

A short bibliography of the chief books on the subject is given at the end, but in the text all references are rigidly eschewed. This was of course necessary, but it is hard on the author. Those without first-hand acquaintance with the whole far-reaching literature of the subject cannot tell how often, and it is very often in this case, on every page almost, the author is giving us entirely original views and suggestions of his own, as well as those of others in the field. Nor can he tell these from the author's own ideas. The reviewer can only say that while in the case of Egypt and Mesopotamia basing his work entirely upon that of others, Professor Myers has known how to illuminate that work with many fruitful suggestions of his own, and in the case of Greece and Italy has skilfully combined his own discoveries and theories with those of others to make an authoritative compendium of the latest views which is of the highest value to all students of the dawn of history.

H. R. HALL.

*Amulets illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College, London.* By W. M. FLINDERA PETRIE. pp. 58, plates liv. London: Constable & Co., 1914. 21s. nett.

The nucleus of the collection of Egyptian Antiquities at University College, London, is the small series that was bequeathed by the late Miss Amelia B. Edwards. To this nucleus has recently been added the Petrie Collection which is in some respects the most important of its kind in this country. Its series of small antiquities is unsurpassed, and the fact that the provenance of the greater number of specimens is known makes the University College Collection one of unique value. From time to time Professor Petrie has published some of the most interesting objects, but as a great mass of instructive material still remains unpublished it was with much pleasure that we learnt last year that it has been decided to print a catalogue of the whole collection. The Edwards Professor proposes to deal in separate volumes with the various classes of antiquities and the volume on Amulets now issued is the first one of the series.

Altogether some two hundred and seventy kinds of Amulets are illustrated and described, and a summary of those in some other collections is given "in order to show the numbers of each kind." To fully illustrate the latter point,—i.e. to show the comparative rarity or otherwise of a certain kind of amulet,—it might have been wished that the author had thrown his net a little wider, for the only important collections that he deals with are those of Cairo, Turin, Edinburgh, Petrograd, the Duke of Northumberland's Collection at Alnwick Castle, and the Hilton Price Collection which is now dispersed. The British Museum, the Louvre, Berlin, Ashmolean, Fitzwilliam, Liverpool and many other important public and private collections are not referred to, although they contain much very valuable material for the study of the subject. We must, however, be grateful to Prof. Petrie for this splendid Catalogue, and it is safe to say that it will be the book of reference for Egyptian Amulets for many years to come.

In the introduction the Edwards Professor asks what is an Amulet? And why is it used? And in answering these questions he gives some interesting notes on the use of Amulets in different countries. Broadly speaking he would define amulets as objects worn by the living or placed with the dead without any physical use, but for magical benefits. He divides them into seven groups thus:—

I. Amulets of Simulacra, i.e. models of different parts of the body which were placed on the mummy to ensure its seeing, hearing, taste, &c., or to ensure its protection from wild beasts. In

this way "the safety, well-being, and activity of the dead in a future life were secured by the appropriate similar placed with the body."

II. Amulets of Powers acting by symbolism. For example the sceptre amulet was believed to confer power; the duckling amulet, virility; the ankh amulet, joy.

III. Amulets of Property representing the offerings of food, drink, clothing and furniture for the use of the dead.

IV. Amulets of Protection, i.e. charms like the protecting girdle of Isis or the serpent head to avoid snake bite, or the forehead pendant to distract and avert the evil eye.

V. Amulets of Human-headed gods.

VI. Amulets of Animal-headed gods.

VII. Amulets of Animal gods.

The system of the Catalogue is all that could be desired. The objects have been photographed and are figured in the first forty-seven plates of the volume. In the letterpress the ancient Egyptian name of each amulet is given, then, if it is known, its Egyptian meaning. An entry regarding the period to which the specimen belongs follows, and a further note states the name of the material of which it is made. On Pl. xxviii is given the name-list of Amulets on a papyrus in the possession of the Rev. W. Macgregor to which Dr Capart first drew attention in the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* some few years ago. As most Egyptian Amulets have been found on mummies, not the least important part of Prof. Petrie's book is the chapter which deals with the Positions of Amulets and the series of twenty-four plans illustrating this chapter given in the five plates at the end of the volume.

P. K. NEWBERT.

*Myths of Babylonia and Assyria.* By DONALD A. MACKENZIE. pp. xiv+537. 40 coloured plates. London: The Gresham Publishing Company, 1915. 7s. 6d. nett.

*Egyptian Myth and Legend.* By the same. pp. i+404. 40 coloured plates. London: The Gresham Publishing Company, 1915. 7s. 6d. nett.

The author of these two books may be congratulated on the way he has attempted, and very largely succeeded in, the task of presenting the old stories of Egypt and Babylonia to readers whose acquaintance with them is likely to be vague and slight. He has not confined himself to telling these stories in readable English. He has realized the need for putting them on some solid basis of historical fact which shall enable the reader who is fresh to them to co-ordinate what he reads with what he knows of the rest of the history of mankind. This he has done in two ways. The myths are separated from one another by chapters in which the author, who is evidently well acquainted with the standard modern books on the subject, sketches the authentic history of the times in which the myths or romances arose, thus giving them their proper setting. Secondly, he gives his readers a standard of judgment and comparison as to the nature of these myths by copious illustrations from the mythology of other countries, particularly that of the Hebrides and the Scottish Highlands in which he has apparently taken a great personal interest and from which he has gleaned much that is interesting.

Excellent as the author's intentions were, his method is not altogether free from drawbacks. The comparative Mythology side of the books is over-emphasized, and at times irritates rather than helps; some of his illustrations from nearest home are the most far-fetched. Again though it was a laudable act to add much very accurate historical information to his collection of stories, the result is at once rather inertistic and confusing. The lay reader may well wonder where fact ends and fiction begins, nor quite understand that to Mr Mackenzie both are fact. It is none the less disturbing to find 'The Tale of the Two Brothers,' in its present form, at least—as we have it in the D'Orbinoy papyrus—a tale of the New Empire, sandwiched in, without explanation, between chapters on the earliest history, secular and religious, of the Egyptian monarchy; or the Wars of the City States of Sumer and Akkad serving as a rather dull pause between the Myths of Tammuz and the Creation Legend. The author may have critical or historical grounds for justifying this, but he should have thought of his puzzled reader.

For the rest, the books may be commended. The author has depended on the best authorities and used them with care and judgment. Except for an unfortunate lapse on p. xxxiv of the 'Myths of Babylonia' where the Hittites intrude into a discussion of Babylonian origins, Mr Mackenzie is up-to-date on questions of racial origins and characteristics. It is a sign that progress is being made when words like 'Aryanoid' and 'Mediterranean Race' can be used successfully in a book of this kind. The most sincere admirer of Akhenaton may feel overwhelmed to find his hero compared with Shelley, though if the two could change their places in history the comparison might after all not seem to us so odd. Right as the author was in concentrating attention on the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms, later times might have been more fully treated. The Ptolemaic age deserves surely more than a sentence.

The photographs are well chosen and the excellent reproductions of Greiffenhagen's and Wallacousin's paintings give a freshness and attractiveness to the books.

A. W. A. LEEPER.

*A Pilgrim's Scrip.* By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, M.A. pp. xii+345. 32 Plates and Map. London: John Lane. 1915. 12s. 6d. net.

Brilliantly coloured pebbles picked up by our author in his many wanderings and thrown to us from his well-filled "scrip" is how we may regard this book, for he himself, in his closing 'Envoy,' calls it "a hotchpotch of kickshaw," and therefore we cannot blame him for not setting before us a dinner of solid courses. Light fare it is, but pleasant to the taste withal, concerning the by-paths of excavation work. Much pleasure will it afford the reader from its accounts, in picturesque language, of places, people, and adventures, passed through or met with by the author on his way to and from the varied scenes of his explorations.

Mr Thompson is well known as an experienced antiquary, and in the chapter 'The Handmaid of Olio' he proves this by describing the peculiar joy the excavator only knows as he digs in some ancient site, when, after days barren of result, the pick or shovel brings to light some special find almost undreamed of, and the weary hours of toil are amply rewarded. Indeed, as the present writer knows full well from much experience with the spade in England, the excavator's work has all the excitement of gambling without its folly, for one never knows what the next spadeful of earth may reveal. Many useful hints are given in this chapter to such as may be led to become excavators. Without such careful forethought the "digger's" life is apt to prove a chain of heart-burnings and regrets over what must be left in the ground unrecovered, or only poorly recorded, through lack of a little preparation before journeying into the wilds.

We travel with our author through the land of the Hittites, Syria, Mesopotamia, Western Persia, Sinai and the Soudan, each region in turn being brought before the mental vision of the reader by means of brightly written sketches. Character drawing there is in abundance, and, scattered throughout the book, are vivid descriptions of scenery which often indeed rise to the heights of poetry in prose. Still, except to the archaeologist who has learned from other sources what has been discovered in these lands, this volume is in some respects a little disappointing, since Mr Thompson tells us barely anything of the finds he made during the course of his explorations on these various sites.

The page or two describing the Arabs digging amid the ruins of the age-old palaces of Kuyunjik but what the appetite for a continued story of the results of such digging, and to be told just a few of the old Assyrian words still surviving in the speech of the present natives of ancient Nineveh—*liba*, Assyrian *libāni*, unburnt brick; *sambit*, a basket, Babylonian *sabbitu*; *qjorr*, burnt brick, the old *qjurnu*—only makes us long for more information of the kind.

Perhaps the chapter describing the expedition for the purpose of copying the inscriptions and rock-carvings of Beilutum is the most informing and entertaining, but oh! why did not the author tell us who built the magnificent one-arched bridge over the Great Zab River at Altun Kempi, of which there is a plate facing page 108!

On page 156 there is an illuminating sentence—a speech of a German professor to Mr Thompson on board a steamer leaving Beirut: "I had been," said he, "to Palestine, to destroy my last lingering

faith in the Christian religion." A good many of his fellow-countrymen seem to have imitated the professor without travelling so far.

The author evidently has read widely in the English literature of both earlier and modern days, and the wonderful vocabulary he has gained thereby amazes us, yet, as one notes such words as 'gigmanity,' 'apricocks,' 'kynopic,' 'agiotage,' 'sea-farlingers,' 'cytogastrous,' 'pickthank,' 'drevill,' and 'periapts,' chosen at random from his pages, one cannot but wish that such reading had not left so deep an impression upon his mind to the confusion of many who may peruse his book. However this choice of words is but a slight blemish in an entertaining volume.

We congratulate Mr Thompson on his being gazetted as a Captain on the Staff of the Indian Army. His special knowledge of the languages, people and countries of the East, as evinced in this book, show him to be eminently fitted for such an appointment.

F. G. WALKER.

# LETTERS TO SIR WILLIAM GELL FROM HENRY SALT, [SIR] J. G. WILKINSON, AND BARON VON BUNSEN

WITH PREFACE BY H. R. HALL

THE letter from Salt with which we begin the second instalment of Sir William Gell's Egyptological correspondence is not of very great interest. One might say that it would be difficult for the Consul-General to be very interesting, if he tried. His contemporaries would undoubtedly have applauded this unkind judgment. For Salt was not loved by them. He undoubtedly got it into his self-important head that he was a valuable contributor to nascent Egyptological science. It is true that he obtained valuable collections of Egyptian antiquities for the nation, but his contributions to Egyptology were valueless, as valueless as his poetry. He loved the East, and Egypt, and his enthusiasm burst forth into song:

Egypt, renowned of old, demands my song.  
High favor'd Land, where Nilus sweeps along  
His course majestick, with full flowing stream,  
And back reflects to-day the Sun's bright beam;  
Sweep on in triumph, noble River, sweep  
Thy welcome waters to the thirsty deep,  
While Tegl's distant mountains, cold and high,  
From their vast fountains a fresh stream supply;  
Oh! how I love along thy banks to stray,  
And watch the fish that on thy bosom play,  
Mark, from thy bed, the sealy crocodile  
Steal his slow pace and turn his head, erewhile,  
In cautious fear, while screams the pelican,  
With flapping wings that heavy seeks to rise;  
Or, in extended phalanx, mounts the crane,  
And dines the wellrin with its shrill hoarse cries<sup>1</sup>.

Vastly elegant, Mr Salt; and the phrase of fifty years before suits his verse, which was more characteristic of 1774 than of 1824. However, so sang the Consul-General, thrumming his tuneful though old-fashioned lyre. And the Poet had also to be the Decipherer: the mystic lore of Canopus and of Orus must unveil itself to him. True, he approved of the work of Dr Young, who, he conceived, was undoubtedly the first discoverer of the numerals; and he approved of the young but meritorious Mr Wilkinson

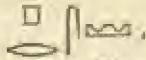
<sup>1</sup> *Egypt, a Descriptive Poem, with notes; Alexandria, 1824.*

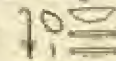
taking the work of Dr Y. as his guide, *so far as it merited*; for he himself, having given the matter some attention, had a very high value for the talents and researches of Dr Y., though, as we see from this letter, he thought he had the fault of galloping on a little faster than his nag would bear him. One can imagine the face of the great F. R. S. at this qualified approval of the Consul-General's, if Gell was ever unkind enough to show it him (and, knowing something of the facetiae of Sir William, we think it highly probable that he did). He, Young, to be accused of galloping on faster than his nag would bear him! he, Young, whose great pride was the fact that he moved slowly, solidly, majestically, Britishly, from certity to certity (the word is Wilkinson's), so differently from that lively and untrustworthy Gaul, Mr Champollion, whose wild theories were so unaccountably supported by Gell. We see from his published correspondence with Gell how very grumpy (it is the only possible word to use) Young was with his Naples correspondent for the way in which he was delayed with all the latest wild ideas of Champollion and Wilkinson, of which he was expected to approve; he, the Fabian Young. And Salt shook his head over him as a galloper! But then Salt was, as we see here, already beginning to set up as a Decipherer in 1822. And in 1825 he brought out his *Essay on the Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics*, an unhappy work, in which whatever was his own was hopelessly and utterly wrong, so much so that one cannot see any rhyme or reason for his remarkable interpretations. There is no clue to his mind in the matter, *Ipse Salt dixit*. And nobody took any particular notice. Wilkinson, as we see, was polite at first, as he thought he had to be; but later on he seems to have expressed his disbelief in Salt's fantasies to their author, much to his disgust. Gell, writing to Young, said: "as for Salt's claims to originality, they were only fit to set up in the region of Humbugia, for I myself have sent to Egypt all the inventions of yourself and Champollion as fast as they come out, and particularly wrote four years ago or thereabouts to advise Salt not to publish a Pantheon which he talked about, because all his new knowledge had been printed long before in Europe, and moreover I doubt whether anything printed existed that I had not sent to Wilkinson. I understand from Mr Scoles the architect, that Salt went crazy on the subject of *his own inventions*, and told them all that you and Champollion knew nothing about it, and that he was the only real discoverer. Wherever Champollion had not published Salt is generally wrong<sup>1</sup>." We need not perhaps endorse Gell's accusation of deliberate humbug on Salt's part. We can see that Salt, while really interested, and able to note one or two things to the point, had none of the equipment necessary for a decipherer, and for that very reason was unable to realize his own inadequacy. The result was ridiculous.


Wilkinson's letters are most interesting reading. We have already touched upon certain of their characteristics. As Salt said, he worked like a horse at hieroglyphics. And, as we have seen, his position on the spot in Egypt gave him opportunities of making discoveries that set Champollion right on several points. Though in 1822 his master was Young, with the latter one could not get on very far: one was not allowed to do so by the master, who himself refused to progress. In 1826 therefore we find him discovering all sorts of things, and correctly, with Champollion as his guide. The four Thothmes, the "Amunophs," the relationship of Ramses II, Seti I, and

<sup>1</sup> LEBRON, iii, p. 392.

Ramses I, in 1826; most of the XVIIIth Dynasty, the XIIth, and the XXIIInd in 1827, from the lists; besides Artaxerxes and others, were a good bag. What he did chiefly was to place the dynasties for the first time in their proper relative chronological position. He got wrong over his Ptolemies, however, and when he launched forth entirely "on his own," he often got things quite wrong. Amun was not "a mere title." In calling Maat "Sati" he repeats an early error of Champollion's. Amenhetep I was before "the first Amunoph," who is Amenhetep II, Amenhetep III being "Amunoph 2d." Gell's query about Saturnus is amusing: quite in the spirit of "classic Gell."

Wilkinson identifies the word Persia, , in the inscription of Xerxes on the Kassayr road (p. 145), which Gell sent on to Young, without getting any decipherment of it out of the cautious doctor. He notes the "hieroglyphic of Chem" (Min) correctly, but confuses Neith with Buta. *En cange* (p. 141) is "in a cangia," as a Nile boat was then called in *lingua franca*. "The Greek affair" is the Greek War of Independence.

In the second letter he repeats the inscription of the Begig obelisk, already known, and makes his correction of Champollion's misplacing of Senusert I among the Ethiopians. He has found Hatshepsut, and puts her correctly in the XVIIIth Dynasty. Amunoph I is now correctly identified. Champollion's "Mandonei" is rightly abolished. But Wilkinson is wrong about the meaning of "Pharaoh." The black pictures of [Aahmes-Nefretari] have been noted by him, and one of "Thothmes 2nd" (correct). The proper positions of Ramses II and III are given. Then comes a rough copy of the Karnak List, recently discovered by Burton<sup>1</sup>. Follows the erroneous identification of Khaneferri Sebekhetep with Sabaco 2d (really Shabutak); Neferkara "Shebek" being (correctly) Sabaco 1st. Then Gell is given the kings of the XXIIInd Dynasty, with a correction of Champollion's mistranslation of  as "né du seigneur du monde." Wilkinson points out the right meaning. Wilkinson's humour comes out in the comic sketch of the cynocephalus smoking a long pipe; and his taste is shown in his inability to tolerate the hideous cartouches of the Caesars. He goes wrong over the word for "harper": and when he got off the track of his kings he was weak: he had none of Champollion's philological knowledge and really little of his insight into the construction of the hieroglyphs, though he could see that








 meant "his son who loves him," not "the son of him who loves him." He shews Thothmes 4th to be the son of Amunoph 2d.

The letter ends with a humorous reference to some complaint of Gell's about his horrible handwriting. These letters are really in places almost indecipherable, as may be seen from the photographs. They are scrawled in what is often a most impossible demotic (or as Wilkinson would then have called it, "enchorial"), full of contractions and abbreviations, and written with a scratchy pen upon vile native paper. So that their transcriber can entirely sympathize with Gell, who justly complained to Young of his correspondent's "outrageous" hand<sup>2</sup>.

















<sup>1</sup> *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. 1\*.

<sup>2</sup> LENCH, iii. p. 481.

Before he signs himself by the humorous appellation of "Baba Ismael," he gets in two more kings: Darius at the Oasis, whom he cannot decipher, and [Seshes-Râ-up-maât Antef], whom he cannot decipher either, with a murrain to him! This "Pyramid," which he had in his "grotto" at Thebes, the "Abu Wilkinson" tomb, seems to have been a fellow to the pyramidion now in the British Museum (No. 478; *Hieroglyphic Texts*, IV, pl. 29), which was acquired in 1834 with the Sams Collection.

The third letter records the arrival of Champollion with his huge party, and deploras the non-arrival of Gell. He is wrong over Tentyma, but right, as before, and Champollion wrong, about the  at the head of the royal banner-name. He complains that Young had never returned him his MSS. Then come miscellaneous observations, not of much value. His criticisms of Champollion are partly to the point, but he evidently does not yet realize how much the Frenchman knew. Champollion's "Djom" for Shu was of course a mere guess, and an erroneous one. But Wilkinson's Io is little better, for he confuses  with  (as did many an old Egyptian before him). He refers again to the cuneiform inscriptions near Suez that he is going to copy. He is still bothered about Buto, whom he had previously thought was  . The Oasis name in the last letter he now knows is Darius. What he means by  being "one of the oldest kings" we do not know, unless he is thinking of the hieroglyph  and has taken it to be a royal name in an oval.

The fourth letter [end of 1828] was sent by means of Lord Prudhoe and Major Felix. A reference to Champollion is omitted as being better unpublished: it mentioned the episode of Burton's inscription, the discovery of which Champollion was said to have appropriated.

Wilkinson was now at work on Coptic, but does not yet know that in that language *ner-* does signify "belonging to." He was however right in saying that the Egyptian  signifies "given,"—*dotos*. There is a hit at Young in the reference to the non-publication of his papers in London: Champollion was too much mentioned in them. Champollion's kings were hardly as bad as Salt's "Amunmenumny" (really "Amenummee"), but Wilkinson is right in saying that they were bad. He, being at Thebes, had a correct envisagement of the whole course of Egyptian history which Champollion, at Paris, could not possess. Other small comments are some right, some wrong. About  he was right and Champollion wrong. Over   and   he was wrong. And he stumbles for the first time over the XVIIIth Dynasty in duplicating Amenhetep III. But he acutely notices for the first time the cutting of Amen's name over another god's (the Aten). The translation of   as "director of the weight" is unlucky, and he was wrong in explaining the *r* of Amontresonther as the relie of *rapot*, "all" [the gods]. He records Aten-Re and Atum, gets wrong over an equation of   with  , and, naturally enough, confuses  , "granite," with   "law."

<sup>1</sup> *Phonetic System*, p. 52. "Amenumnee" was hardly less absurd than Wilkinson's caricature of it.

With the 'kaadeer' jest we end the Wilkinson letters. Those of Bunsen, that follow, have already been commented on almost sufficiently. They are interesting enough to be printed with the others, but without them might have been left uncopied. The "two distinguished travellers" are Lord Prudhoe and Major Felix, and we see how, owing to Gell's remissness, Bunsen never met them when they came to Rome. Gerhard is the well-known editor of Greek vases. The *Bollettino* is the Bulletin of the Prussian School at Rome, and was founded by Bunsen.

He is right over the two Meroës, Merawi and Bakarawiya. As we have seen, Wilkinson's correction of Champollion's misplacement of Osortasen (Senusert I) troubled him mightily. He accepted Champollion's authority without question, and seems unable to conceive that the Englishman on the spot might be right, though later on he rejoices that there are Englishmen there to "controul" the "learned and distinguished" Frenchman. The passage we have omitted contains a very German reflection on French scholarship which it is unnecessary to print.

The fifth query, about Thotmoeis, is funny, as Bunsen has evidently confused the *XVIIIth Dynasty* with the line of the Thotmosids, and thought there were eighteen Thothmes. He must have been thinking of the eighteenth Louis, recently gathered to his fathers.

Nibby the Austrian *savant* was one of Champollion's *bêtes noires*. The reference to verses of Champollion's (or about Champollion?) which Gell set to music is tantalizing. Burton told Gell in the letter we do not print that Champollion ("so Mr Wilkinson says") composed the following verses on the Pyramids:

Les Pyramides, 'sans aucune doute'  
(Je veux le dire coûte ce qu'il coûte),  
Ont sept mille ans, quelque chose de plus :  
La preuve est dans un papyrus.

We suspect that the real author of this *jeu d'esprit* was the ingenious Mr Wilkinson himself, who may very well have also written the strophes that Gell set to music for the delectation of the Bunsens. The "sans aucune doute" is a skit on Champollion's dogmatism; no doubt the phrase was often on his lips in Egypt, and made the sceptical English grunt.

In the second letter we have a reference to Chateaubriand, then at Rome. Osortasen and Osorkon still trouble Bunsen. We find Gell jealous for the reputation of his old master, Young. But the F.R.S. would have been little grateful, had he known: we see from his letters to Gell that he was quite unable to realize how he had been outrun by Champollion, and how kind it was of Gell to keep his name still to the fore.

The study of these old letters has been one of very great interest, which will no doubt be shared by all Egyptological students. One is sorry that Miss Hartleben was not able to make use of them in her life of Champollion; but her ignorance of their existence was shared by ourselves in London.

H. R. HALL.

## I.

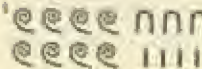
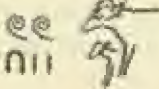
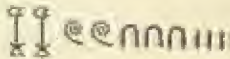
## LETTER FROM HENRY SALT.

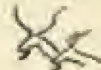
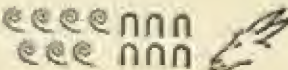
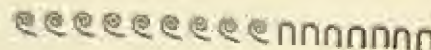
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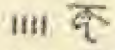
September 16th, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR,

I had great pleasure in receiving your letter by Mr Wilkinson, whose acquaintance has been a source of much gratification to me; as the interest he takes in our Egyptian antiquities far exceeds that of ordinary travellers. I have not indeed seen any person here who has entered with so much spirit into the study of hieroglyphicks as Mr W. and, as he has begun at the right end in taking Dr Young's work, so far as it merits, for a guide, he cannot fail making considerable progress; more especially as he works *like a horse* at it. I have myself given the matter some attention and have a very high value for the talents and researches of Dr Young, though I think he has the fault of galloping on a little faster than his nag will bear him. The numerals, notwithstanding Jamard's pretension, I believe to have been first discovered by Young, and, as they have undoubtedly the signification he assigns them, it is a great point gained. By their assistance alone we have lately found out the exact stock of a rich proprietor of land whose tomb was discovered by Caviglia at the Pyramids, as it clearly appears by the numerals over each drove of cattle that he had

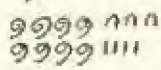






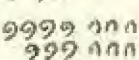

' oxen,  cows with calves, 

 goats,  asses, and 

 sheep, and I have since observed in a tomb little known at Koom Ammar near Minieh the numerals given together in the same line with the corresponding hieroglyphicks of each kind of beast, as above, thus enabling us to advance a step farther in the knowledge of their hieroglyphical language.

The number also of the Abyssinick trophies offered to a king after battle is in several places to be observed on the walls of Medinet Haboo, expressed in the same numerical figures and the number of offerings made by different princes is generally to be found in the propyla of the smaller Ptolemaic temples. I have sent home also

[<sup>1</sup> Salt wrote this sign the wrong way round: this has been rectified above.]

signification he assigns them, it is undoubtedly a great point  
 gained. By these signs alone we have lately found  
 out the exact stock of a rich proprietor of land whose  
 tomb was discovered by Cavaglia at the Pyramids; as it  
 clearly appears by the numerals on each door of cattle  
 that he had  }  oxen   cows with calves  
 I    goats   asses and in  
 9999999999 11111111111 To sheep, and I have since found  
 in a tomb little known at Koom Amonas near Miniet  
 with the numerals of the latter given together in the  
 same line with the corresponding hieroglyphs of each  
 kind of beast, as above, thus enabling us to advance a  
 step farther in the knowledge of their <sup>meaning by the long paper</sup> signification.

The number also of the Abydosian trophies offered to a  
 king after a battle is in several places to be observed on  
 the walls of Medinet Haboo, expressed in the same num-  
 erical figures and the number of offerings made by  
 different princes is generally to be found in the papyrus  
 of the smaller Memnonian temples. I have sent home also  
 several tombstones where the ages of the deceased are  
 clearly marked as well as the year of the king's reign  
 under which they died - But above all these conditions

have

Believe me  
 my dear Sir  
 Yours most truly  
 Henry Salt



several tombstones where the ages of the deceased are clearly marked as well as the era of the king's reign under which they died. But above all three coudées have been lately found at Sakara, two in wood and one in stone, on which are regularly marked the digits as far as sixteen in these numerical characters, which are again marked off on another side of the coudé (*sic*) into as many scales, thus.

&C	I I O	I O	O	IIIII	IIIII	IIIII	IIIII	IIIII	II II	II II	II II		

which will I conceive make a convert of the most sceptical on this subject.

The characters that distinguish the dynasty of the Ptolemies are also closely established, though I am not sure that Young is right in thinking that they directly represent the name of Ptolemy; on the contrary I think that they also comprehend the name of the first founder of the Greek dynasty, Alexander, as appears from several lists in hierog<sup>l</sup> of the Princes of the dynasty to be found in the different temples built during this reign. If it were only for the insight it has given us into the comparative age of the different buildings in Nubia & Egypt the Rosetta Stone is infinitely valuable, being confirmed as it is by various discoveries of Mr Banks, myself, and others of Ptolemaick inscriptions cut in the walls of temples previous to the sculpture and of others inserted as building stones into the walls, which prove beyond all doubt the comparatively modern date of their creation.

Having travelled lately with Horus Apollo in my hand I have become satisfied that the whole of the first book is founded on a correct interpretation of the hieroglyphicks, having found almost every hierog<sup>h</sup> he there indicates, the lion standing, crouching, half lion, and head of a lion, the different positions of the monkey and hawk, the combination of figures for "month," for "letters," and for the number "10," the four vases signifying the increase of the Nile, &c., &c., which it would have been I conceive impossible to have so exactly specified had the author not had some actual knowledge of the language of hieroglyph<sup>h</sup>.

There are also a few correct hieroglyphs at the beginning and end of the second book but the great body of it I am persuaded to be a base forgery made up by some monk at a period much posterior to the original work. I think of preparing a copy of that portion which I believe to be genuine with a sketch of the respective hieroglyphs as copied from existing monuments to be placed in the margin.

I also think of making out a short treatise on the different deities of Egypt to be illustrated by designs which I have taken from Egyptian monuments, as I think I can clearly trace Phre, Neuph, Pthas, Buto, Athur, Horus Trismegistus, &c., among the different figures common in all the temples, together with their respective hieroglyphical names instead of being obliged to designate them all by the ten-thousand times repeated appellations of Isis and Osiris. I also have traced the Egyptian Esculapius through a Greek inscription discovered by myself at Philæ which contains a dedication by Ptolemy Epiphanes to that Deity. If these subjects interest you as well as my friend Mr Hamilton I shall occasionally trouble you with a letter (though

## LETTER FROM HENRY SALT

I am a sad correspondent) and hope in return to hear sometimes what you are about in Italy.

Believe me

my dear Sir

Yours most truly

HENRY SALT.

To

Sir William Gell.

&c., &c., &c.

I have just laid my hand upon your letter which I had not by me when I wrote the preceding. Your account of Pompeii discoveries is very interesting and I trust you will be thereby induced to go on some day or other with your valuable work on their subject. It is to be regretted that Hamilton's plans of excavating at Rome were suspended; they might not only have been useful in fixing sites but in bringing to light many valuable inscriptions perhaps now buried under the rubbish.

I shall take your hint about Memphis and Sais, though I fear there is not much to be discovered at the latter place. I have not much opinion of Dr Young's list of Kings. I am not aware on what foundation it rests, but my own notes prove that there are many errors in it. The Ptolemies have assumed to themselves, it is certain, many parts of edifices erected by others, especially that of the propylon at the entrance of the Great Portico at Karnak; but the name of the original founder is sure to creep out in some corner or other. I have scarcely courage to begin the arrangement of my notes or otherwise I have a mass of matter that might enable me easily to make out a quarto volume without trenching on any of my predecessors; but a desire not to interfere with Bankes in Nubia restrains me in that quarter, whilst I have the misery to see Inscriptions discovered by myself daily brought forward, by later travellers, on the Continent.

The inscription of the "Chief of the Noubada Silko," published by Niebuhr, was my discovery, as well as that giving an order "to drive away the pigs." The former had been concealed by large masses of stone which I removed, and the latter I discovered under a mass of plaster.

Yours very truly

H. SALT.

I write to Mr Hamilton by this occasion, whom it must be a great delight to you to have at Naples.


## II.

## LETTERS FROM WILKINSON.

QENEH,

Decr. 4th, 1826.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AULUS,

I cannot but begin with *tam raro scribis* —, however you say the same to me in your text, in answer to which I sent you a list of letters I had before written. Did you receive that? Be it as it may, I have placed myself cross-legged on my carpet with the intention of writing an account of what I have been doing & why I have till now nearly forsaken the  of hieroglyphics. But know, great Sir, that a certain rage for them has again possessed me, & prepossessed me in their favor; & I have just been paying a visit to Thebes, from which I am returning in the full determination of going up again *en cange* to finish it, & if I can, all Egypt to A'Souan: there's a resolution. I hope it will be fulfilled. I have for the last two years been looking at the deserts, & have this last time finished my survey of the coast of the Red Sea from Suez to Kossayr; so that I have with my former journey [omission] the coast from N. Latd. 23° 30' to Suez. You will perhaps call it loss of time. The hieroglyphics on the Kossayr road employed four good days, & I have among them found the name of Artaxerxes. Being at El Egkayta I thought that a short detour to Thebes would not be amiss, & therefore turned off to the left & remained 18 days there, the which time at Names; & I must say never was more pleased by any detour than this. I have now three lists of Kings besides Abydus, agreeing very well with that & with each other; besides the Chamber of Kings containing 42 names, besides others illegible, all anterior to Thothmes. But of Thothmes I should have much to tell you were I certain about him or them. And know, great Sir, that I lay down 4 Thothmes, each of them with a different title. Salt supposes Thothmes the oldest king whose monuments remain. His Thothmes I make Thothmes 4th, & therefore place, (besides his 3 namesakes), 3 kings anterior to him whose names exist on Egyptian remains. What say you, great Sir? I will go on after breakfast—

Burton while at Karnak excavated the outer walls of the Temple, & laid open some very fine & curious sculptures. Among them the most interesting is the return of the King to the Nile, in which are seen crocodiles & other vegetables, while his people are coming out to meet him on the opposite bank. In the water is



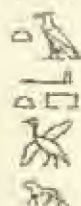
which should be the name of the Nile. And in the building before it, which should be Thebes, is





Take care of these, because I don't think it fair upon Burton to give them to everybody, though the wall is open to all. They are between us. I would not on any account have it said that I sent off any discovery of another person privately. On another place the palace, I suppose, of the king is

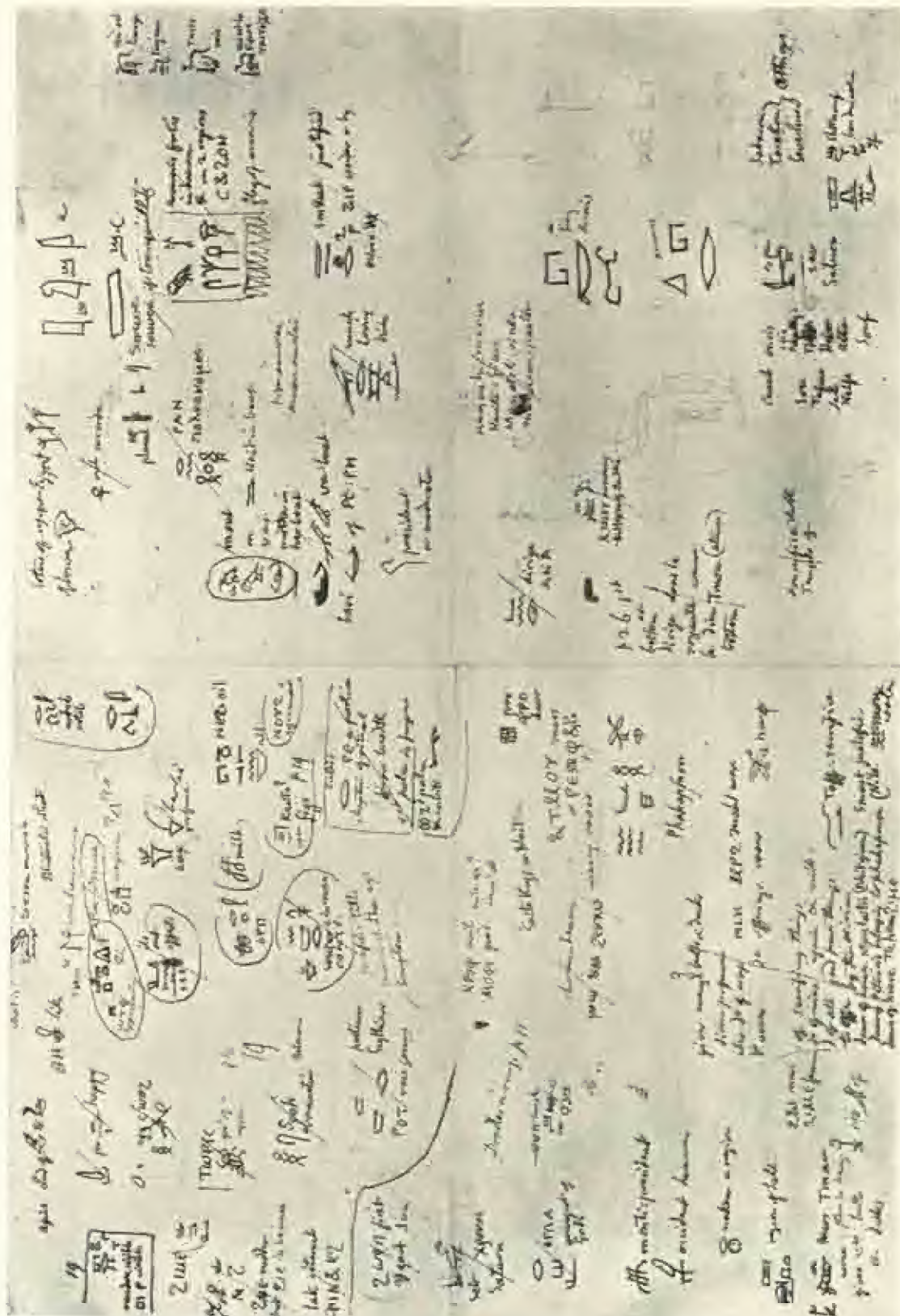


& another palace

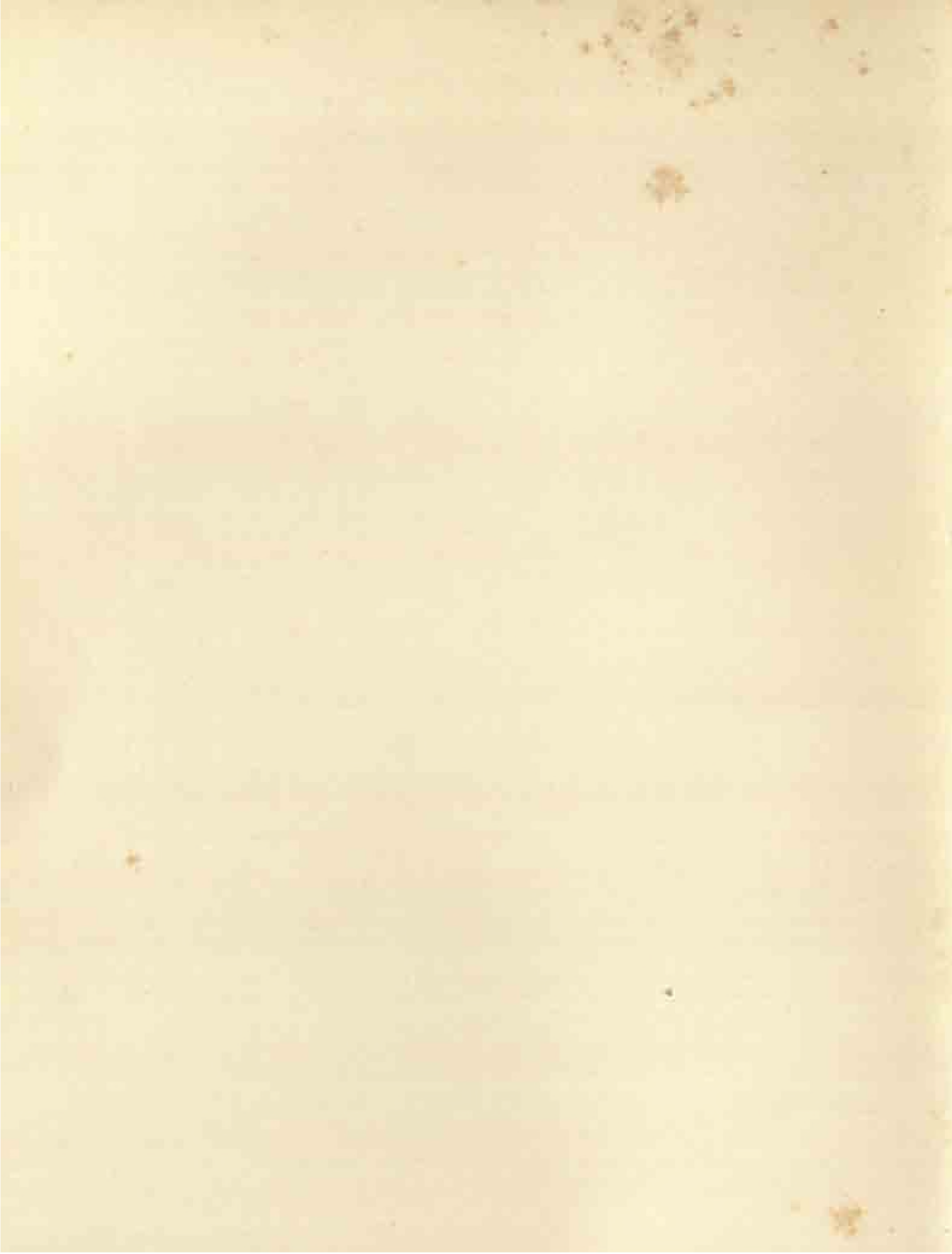



These palaces may be forts, but I am rather inclined to the former name.

Salt sent me his Opera. I skimmed it over as anyone would with the ophthalmia. He afterwards asked my opinion of it. One could not say otherwise than excellent. But the fact was I had not looked into it properly. I now see that his list of kings, Pharaon, is all wrong, and I believe not one in its place. You do not tell me if Pharaon will spell Son of the Sun  or . Champollion does not make his



A page of scattered notes (untranscribed) with the first Wilkinson letter.



Amon clear. I can assure you that  is Amon Re (that is Amon of Thebes), as he

says; but that




is also Amun, but with the addition of Kneph,—is

Amun-Kneph & the Amenebis of the Romans or Jupiter Ammon Anubis of the inscription of E'Souan. Amun was a mere title. I have got it prefixed to 5 or 6 other deities. When I have done with Egypt if my papers are not gone to England but merely to Malta, I will go & have a long talk with you at Naples on the subjects which I do not like to trust to letters.

I do not exactly see your Osymandyas in Belzoni's Tomb. I can give it to




are used indiscriminately. The  seems to be the sceptre of Sati & stands for S. This devil figure's name may begin with O (I have not his hieroglyphs with me). He is always effaced in the names wherever he occurs. Observe that Salt has run into

the strange error of calling one of the names that of the *father* of the other.

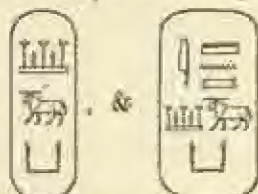
is certainly Amunoph 2d; but I think that



is very old, & before the

1st Amunoph.  is undoubtedly the hieroglyphic of Chem, who has also the name of Amon Re at Thebes, & in one place only at Karnak have I seen this, his real hieroglyphic. Salt saw the name of Philip in the great sanctuary of Karnak, but did not observe that that name of Thothmes accompanied it because he was the king who built the former one, destroyed by the Persians, rebuilt by Philip. This will be clearly the meaning if the tablet contains these two names (which I have not with me). How was Saturnus represented? He can only be found in Ptolemaic or Roman temples, if there. Sarapis I have got. He is Mr Ch[ampollion]'s Phthah Socari. Is

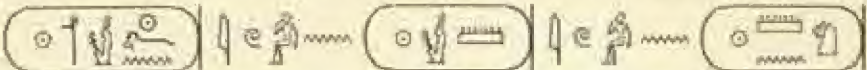
this not Sabaco



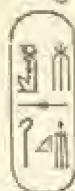
(Sabakon)? I will copy the c—form inscrip-

tions of Ras El Wady some time after my return from E'Souan. I had intended so to do this time.

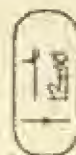
It appears in names that the title distinguished them; more positively that the name was spelt differently at different times: hence the titles (& never the names) are put into their lists of kings. I have in one instance only found the name of a king with that of two of his predecessors mentioned as his father and grandfather.

Thus , Sesotris son of first Osymandyas, son of —. I think not only from this but other reasons that Monsoo Champollion is wrong in placing his 113 before 114 or Sesostris, which

last was among the ancestors of 113 or



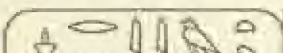
; nor am I certain that his

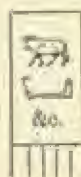


is


correct. I can produce arguments both ways.

I have by means of the names been able to set down the additions & improvements in the building of the great temple of Karnak according to their respective data.

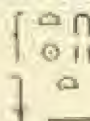
Who was the wife of Psammeticus or more probably daughter? Observed the name of Berenice  [sic] that it is a hawk, not a goose. The



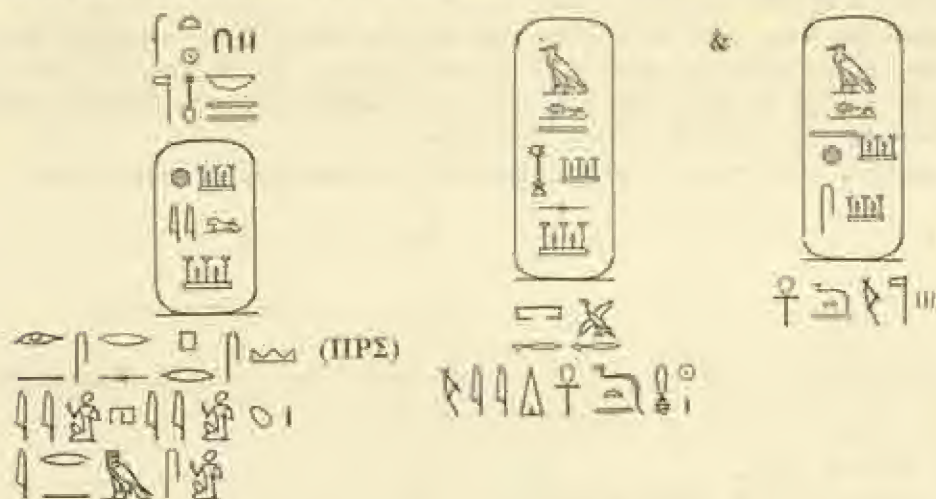
had hieroglyphs in it according to the king whose name followed: it should always be copied with them, & does not seem to have been noticed. I told you in a former letter that I had Champollion's work on names, &c., in 2 vols.

I will be particular in the  &c., at Philae, & anything else you write about if your letter reaches me before I set off again; but you may judge of my time by my movements. I now go to Qáhirah by the breezy desert, & expect to reach it in about 40 days: then take my boat & go up direct to E'Souan, & take everything coming down. After that look at the < > ^ v of Ras el Wady & the Labyrinth of Faïoum which I think I can fix upon with certainty [sic]; then Natron Lakes & to Malta, where if I find my papers not yet gone to England I remain a short time & hope to take a sail over to you, & return again to Egypt. But the Greek affair may alter all my plans.

Now to the proof of the hieroglyphs of Kossayr road. Last time I copied the greater part which are at Malta. Those of this visit I have, & from them send you this



the 12th yr. of Sabaco. That is not too much for one who reigned 50. And Artaxerxes (tho' it only contains letters enough differently disposed for Xerxes): one bears the date of his 5th yr. & another which seems to be of Xerxes, the 12th year. The hieroglyphs below are curious: qy, the names of the writer and his family



In another place

$\frac{z}{\sigma} \sim \sqrt{\lambda}$ , ending with the










hieroglyphic of Chem.

Another name frequent there is [illegible] the Sun (*sic*) of Buto:



I think him some relation of Psammitticus (*sic*) Ist.

Why does Mr Champollion take no notice of Ptolemy  $\overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{P}}$ , & Arsinoë his wife? does he think his Pt. Alexander enough? But this is one of the 1st Ptolemies; [illegible]

	Gods Soter,	sometimes thus:		
	Gods Adelphi,			
	Gods Euergetes,			

I made a mistake about this before in supposing the 1st god Alexander (of the Rosetta stone) the Great(?) Alexander.

In a former letter I sent you a few names from Esneh: did you receive it? I have just received a packet of letters, but not one from you. I hope to be more fortunate the next time. I must conclude, as I am anxious to mount my Dromedary & set off. I will write again probably on my return to Thebes; but direct as usual to the care of British Consulate, Cairo.

Burton has done much at Thebes. Mr Hay has been chiefly employed about the Sculptures, & not given up much time to hieroglyphics. Dr Madden in a bad humor that I did not go to Suez with him: as if he could not go by himself. What is Lord Cochrane doing? all are [illegible] alarmed.

Good-bye: write soon. You shall hear more of hieroglyphics from Thebes.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

J. G. WILKINSON.

To

Sir William Gell  
care of H.B.M. Ambassador  
in Napoli

fav'd by Mr Galloway.

Rec'd & forwarded  
by James Bell & Co.  
Malta,  
9 Feb.  
1827.

THEBES, July 2nd, 1827.

MOST POWERFUL AMONRASONTHOR,

I received a few days ago your last replete with hieroglyphical information, for which & particularly the trouble you have had the kindness to take with the translation of the Rosetta stone, I return you many thanks. I was gratefully surprised to find by your letter that you are coming out at last; & hope to be here at Thebes to welcome you & lionize you among the lists of Kings & other curiosities. My oasis & all other papers are gone to England, but sealed up, in which state they will remain till my arrival there. I thought you would consider my desert tours lost time: I do not; though in the meantime I had given up all opportunity of looking at hieroglyphics (what long words!). Obeliaks of the Faïoom—there is one fallen, of which I would send you a copy, only I am afraid this will not reach Naples before

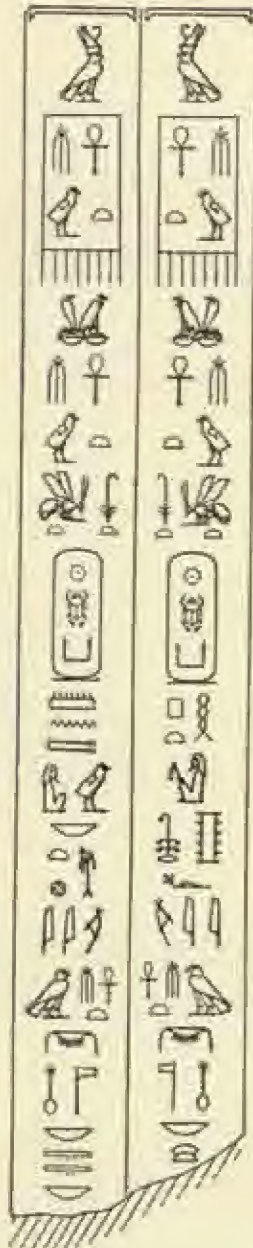
you start. You shall upon the chance of this finding you have the 2 sides. It is of

Oaertesén



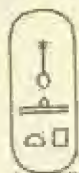
the First. On the large face is the King offering to Gods & lines of

hieroglyphics below, much mutilated:



I had intended to trouble you with another of my hieroglyphical attempts, but your going frightened me, & I was afraid of its falling into other hands. I have therefore sent it off to England direct. Mons. Champollion has a great n° of Errors in his Kings, among them is the above or Osortesen 1st, whom he makes of 23rd Dynasty, which will never do: he comes *before* any of the 18th Dynasty & is either

of the 16th or 17th. *Siptha*



was successor of Osortesen 2nd, who succeeded



his Psammis, who succeeded Osortesen 1st. This Psammis he supposes

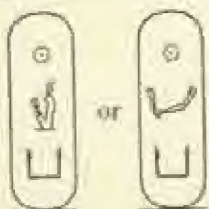
to be on the obelisks of Karnak. No: that name is thus,



& on him

Thothmes has cut his name: ergo, he is *prior* to Thothmes, who was of the 18th

Dynasty. Next to



or

Amunoph 1st, is



or Thothmes I. Then



the same (?) as



Thothmes 2nd,



Thothmes 3rd,



Amunoph

2nd,



Thothmes 4th,



Amunoph 3rd, Memnon,



(I do not say,

but not Horus as Mr Ch[ampollion] says),



f. Ramses I,

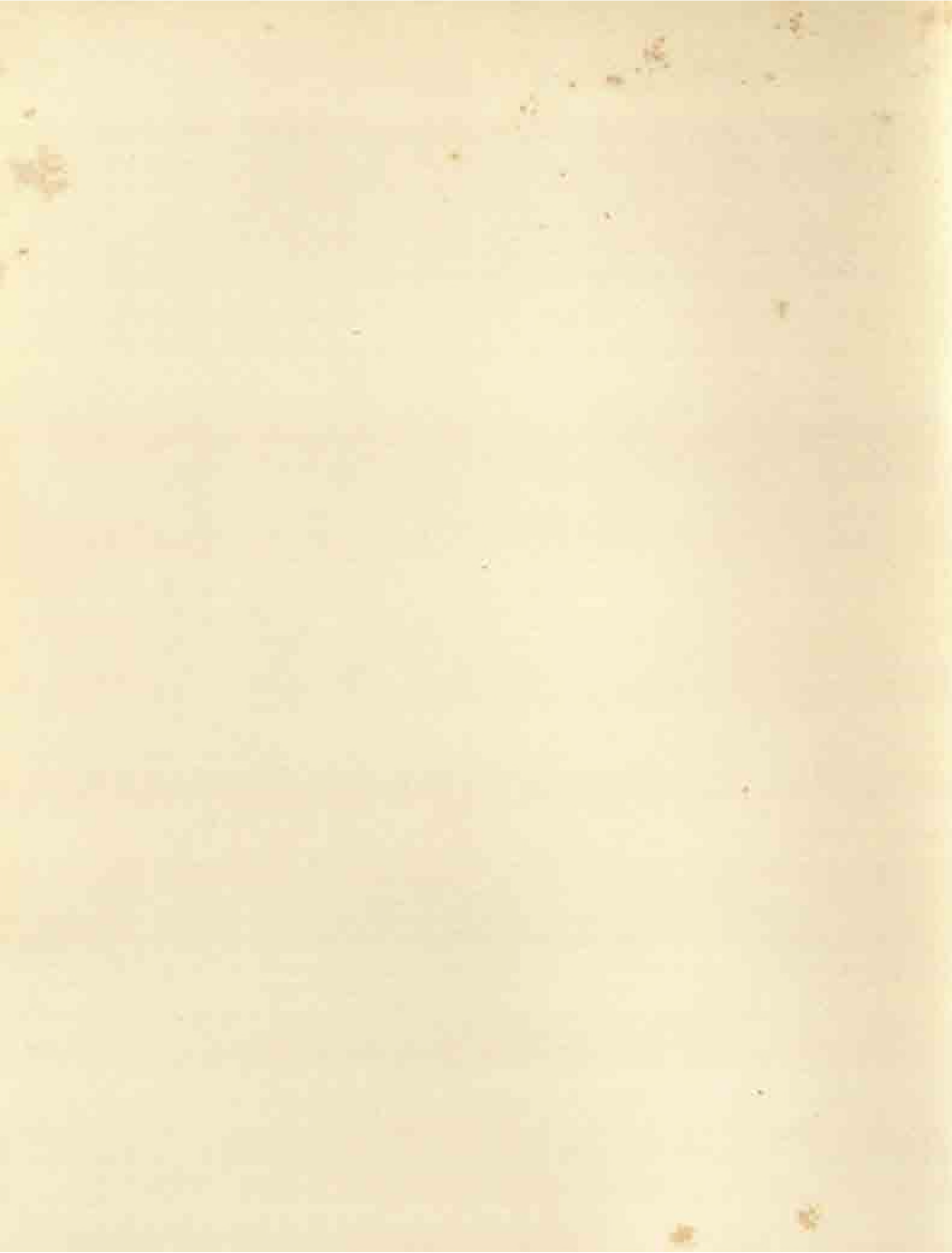


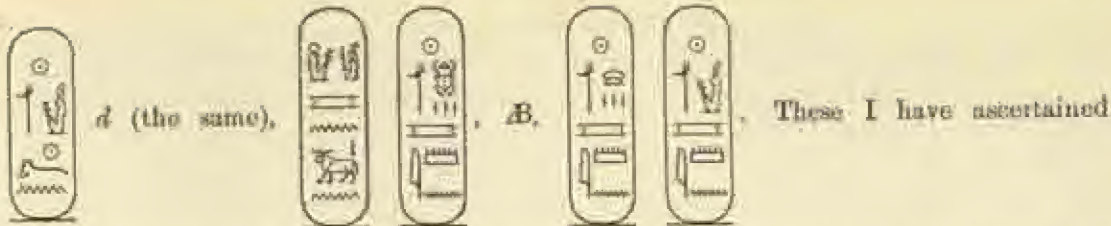
e,



c, or









without any doubt except Amunoph Ist who, though he certainly is an immediate

predecessor of Thothmes Ist, may not be the same as ; if not the same, this

last is one of his predecessors. It would be taking up all the paper to give you my authorities, but this may be depended upon which makes the Abydos tablet undoubtedly


a list of kings.  is Osertesens 2nd, & the first name wanting in the Abydos

tablet, 2nd line, will have been  *Osertesens Ist*. What will you say to this?

Mons. Ch[ampollion] will perhaps not allow it: I am sorry for it. A Ram[esses] is *e*: I have it in a number of Cosair names. It is also *B*. How can he make *B* of the

16th Dynasty? Before these [are]



who are the predecessors of  *Amunoph Ist*!! Therefore all those above!! No!!

It will never do. I wish I was certain this could reach you. *e*, *d*, are the same name, & of the son of *e*, & grandson of *f*; here it is:



There is no such distinction as Ousirei & Mandouei.



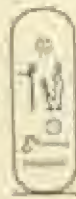
or



stands for Osiris; they are in this name on the same building, & with the same prenomen



, & given as the father of



, or *Rameses Miamun*. Mr Ch[ampollion] goes

on too fast.

I next come to the square title, as I have called it by way of distinction, which according to Mossoo Ch. refers to the *Ἀπόλλων κρείττος*. Whenever the name of a king has been erased and another substituted, the hieroglyphics in this square have also been erased and changed, besides (not to say more of the many agents I can bring forward) if you will observe the names of the kings they are preceded by the same square in most cases, though sometimes the devices in them are a little altered.

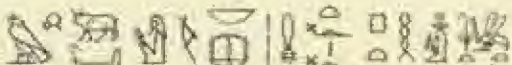
However they are of this use, that when y<sup>e</sup> name of the king is gone, and this square remains, we can generally tell whose name it was. They are of the greatest use. You never got my letter from Qena written last winter, I dare say. The next point is the



(I wish I could write such a pretty round hand as yours: this climate is hostile to quill pens, and reeds spoil one's knives.) To return to the Hawk. Sir: Pharaoh in y<sup>e</sup> Hebrew text is Phrah, that is פֶּרַעַה, and Phrah is the same as the modern Coptic word *nps*, "the Sun": *ergo*, as you would at Cambridge or we at Oxford have said, Pharaoh is the "Sun"; and the Hawk and Globe is "the Sun," or rather the "Sun" is a hawk and globe,

Pharaoh or Phrah is the Sun,  
*ergo*: Pharaoh is the hawk and globe.

Therefore I begin thus: "Pharaoh or Phrah, powerful, & the living Sati," you say *me*, but I cannot spell it as you tell me. Do not let me hear any doubts. These hiero-

glyphs are not always enclosed in a square, as 

"Pharaoh the powerful (badly translated by Champ'ion *Ἀπολλων κρατερος*, for which read *Ἡλιος κρατερος*, referring to the king), beloved of Sati, lord of the assemblies (I must allow from a nearer examination of the Rosetta stone), like his father Ptah-Sokar": that will all do very well then, *αἰετὸς ἀνδρῶν* (if you please) of old Homer.

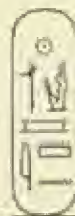


Thothmes 2nd was a black king, and

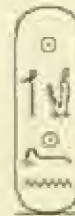


a black queen of Amunoph I.

How can Monsos Ch. for a moment suppose



to come before

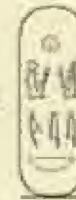


, and this

last the supposed Sesostris had a son

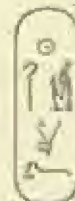


; and the other has a son



, who

does not seem to have succeeded him immediately, but



seems to have intervened

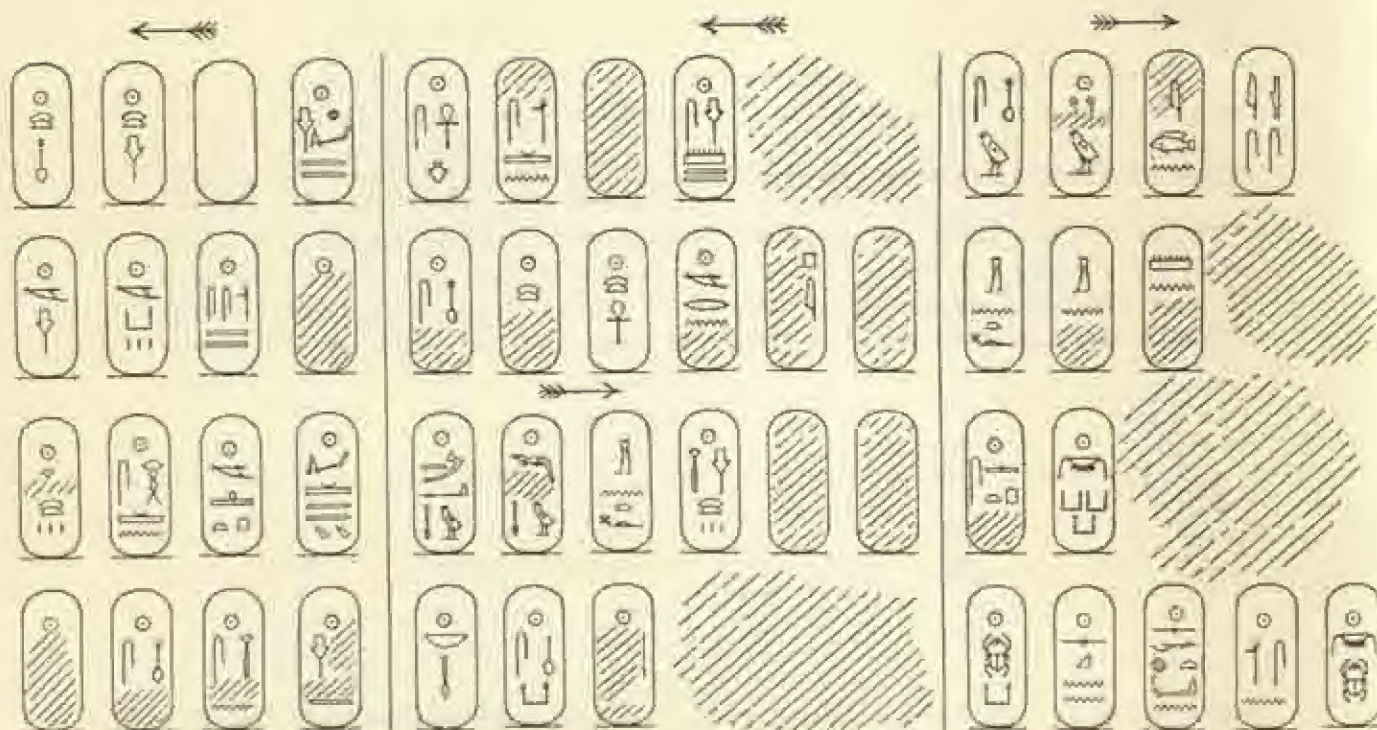
between them. Salt is very proud of his 7 Queens: I think I have got 28. You say Champ. does not know the kings of his Turin MS. I will now send you some you

perhaps also do not know from Thebes, and predecessors of Thothmes 3rd



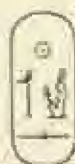
, who

is offering to them:



This stela of kings has 3 sides only remaining; the other is gone. On these 3 walls I suppose there were 68 names; allow 16 on the fallen wall where was the door gives 84. The Abydos tablet I find had 26 names in the lowest line; having excavated the base. These of the stela of kings at Karnak will have been more than at Abydos, even allowing an upper line to have been lost of this last tablet. The hieroglyphics you say at the side of the tablet I did not send you. The only thing curious in them

is the name



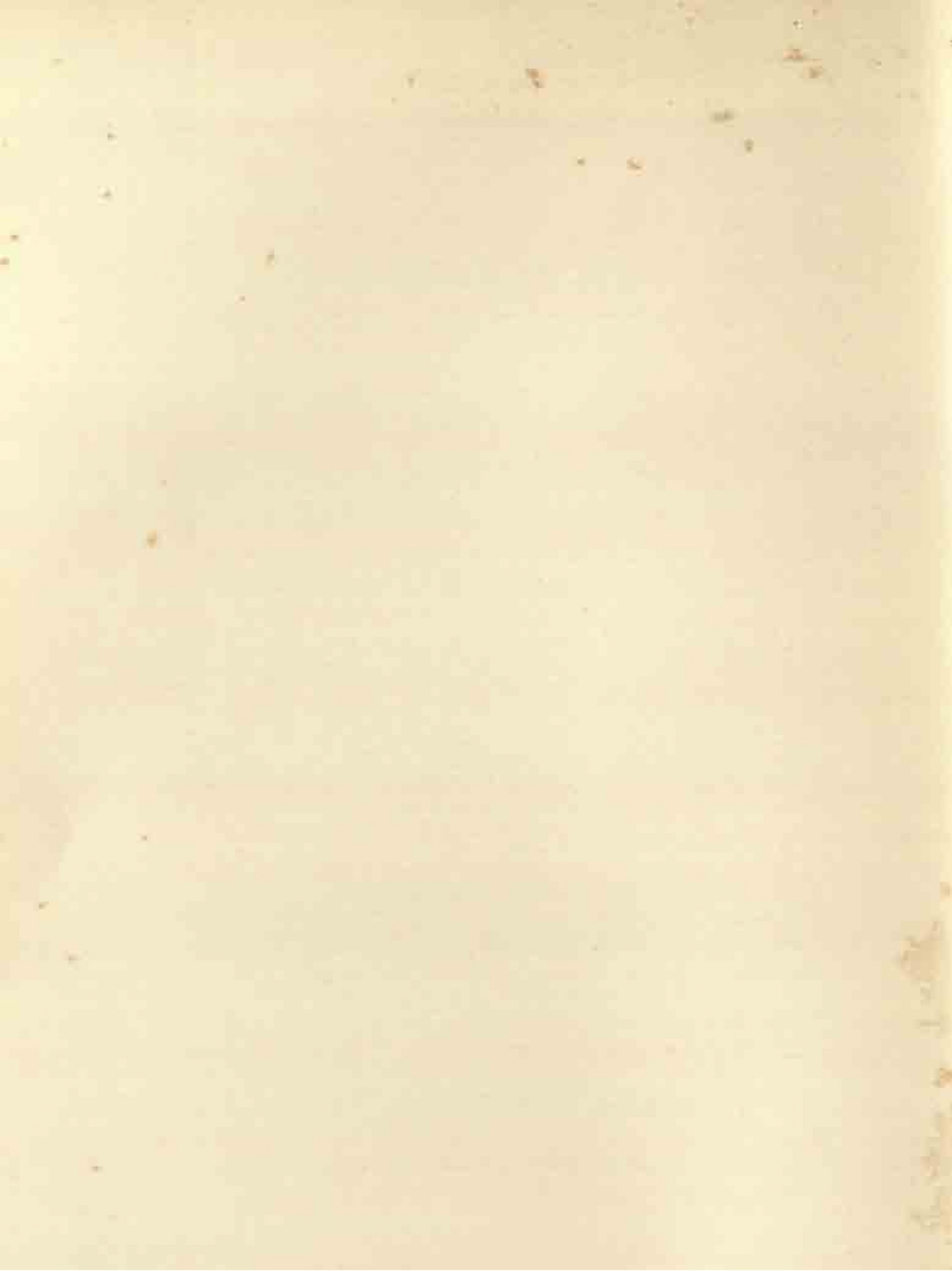
which is used for



, the builder of the chamber where [the]

name occurs in the last line. The former manner of writing it is also used in the



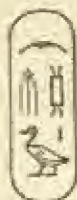
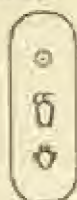


2nd line of this tablet. The chamber and all the oldest part of the building at

Abydos was of his father



I agree perfectly with



for Amasis. He married the daughter of

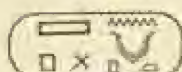
Psammetichus 3d (sic)



The daughter of Psammetichus 2d was



& her mother was



mother to be, being a very ill-tempered old woman, & having great animosity to

Sabaco 2d, whose name was



being the same as

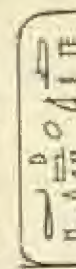
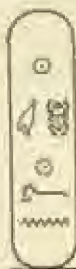


Shebek or Sabaco 1st. Now pray, good Sir Absolute,

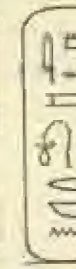
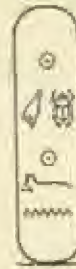
(if you will not allow my 2 Sabacos); the age of Psammetichus 1st, who fled from the persecution of Sabaco on y<sup>e</sup> death of his Father Necho (in Arabic a very bad name). Sabaco reigned 50 yrs; Anysis 7 on his return; Sethos 40, and Psammetichus 1st 34: he could not then be the Sabaco from whom Psammetichus fled: this was the 2d Sabaco, & above you have their 2 names, both in Doctors Common. I have a good mind to send you Tacellothis & the Osorkon people:



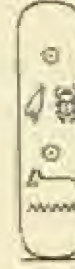
Sheshonk 2d.



Amumai, son of  
Isis, Takedote.








Osorkon 1.

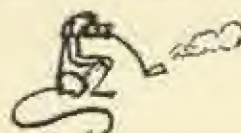




Sheshonk 1st.

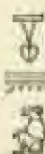
There is still Osorkon 2d to be introduced somewhere here, but I am not clear yet as to these names, and Mons. Champollion has made terrible mistakes in construing (*Syst. Hiér.* p. 208, Texte)





né du seigneur du monde, [illegible] d'Amon Osorchon. It should be "the royal offspring," referring to Osorkon himself, who being enclosed in an oval is the reigning king, while the other names not enclosed in ovals are followed by the signs , "deceased," as in the above of the 2 queens: pray consider this point.  appears [to be] minister [torn out] minister or priest, &  seems to be as well as  the chief or 1st priest.  may be his [torn out] commences tablets of the deceased, having the sense of "In the 11th yr. of the King Ptolemy," &c...was born [torn out] the 1st [?] yr. of Ptolemy, &c., which is as you say a story, if not a history. How can the *ἡμερα* [torn out] written! also \* for  $\frac{III}{II}$ , &c., & *επαρχος Αιγυπτου*.



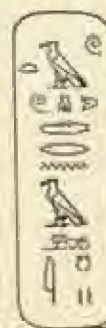
is put for , & confirms Horapollon; also [torn out] is not .



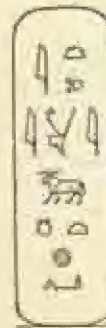
support(?), as , "the support of the world Horus."   $\frac{O}{O}$  *καμς*; I cannot spell it.

Owing to my sending off my paper I have not had time to get to look over the Rosetta Stone, but merely lightly skimming over the papers. How Champollion must laugh at Salt's work. I am sorry that S. himself is inclined to think there is anything in it. I dislike the very appearance of Ptolemies and Caesars: you asked about Nero

at Dendera:

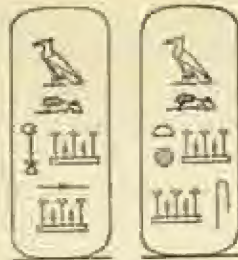


, Nerone:



, Adrianus (run for s). Long ago

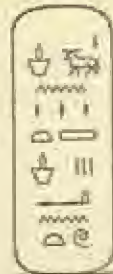
I sent you Artaxerxes



You mention Mrs Sesostris: she is



; & his daughter is



is anperintendent. A harper Mr Ch. gives, you say, I think it

should be If you will not believe Thothmes 4th to be son of Amunoph 2d,

I send it N.B., these characters  
Amunoph 2d his son


of his son as usual refer to the name which *follows* them, as in the case of Monsr. Ch's Osorkon above mentioned. Were it to be translated in his mode it would be "The son of him who loves him," but neither here nor in the above is there any sign "of."


But it sometimes occurs thus the royal (not always

meaning royal) daughter of Psamitik, & no "of." Here y<sup>a</sup> sign refers not to the name following it, but to the one before, which is often very perplexing, except in the case of females, as here.....Good bye, great Sir; my new papers will be dedicated to you.

I hope to hear from you if you get this, to tell us when we may expect you here. If I do not hear from you I shall expect your Cangia daily or monthly. I recommend you to do as I have; to take a Maash, or Maäs as some call it improperly; you can stand upright in it & have some kind of comfort. When you reach Alexandria or before, that is on the way for Egypt, let me know; and I will send you word of all that I know is requisite for your journey, & account of what is to be seen coming up.

As you complain of my handwriting, I should flatter myself it is legible did I not find that sometimes I cannot read it myself. But the pens are bad. What did you

make of the Oasis name  ? There is a Pyramid in my room or

grotto (for I am one of the Troglodytes), with the name  . What

think you of this, Mr Collector of Kings? [?]. Murrain to him [?]. I hope this may reach you, for [I] am in anxious expectation [i] of the pleasure of welcoming you to Thebes.

BARA ISMAEL.

Hay & Burton are still here and coming up to Thebes again.

Messrs Jas. Bell & Co.,  
Malta.

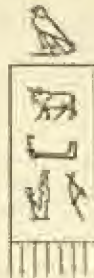
For Sir William Gell:

To his Excellency His Britannic Majesty's Minister, &c. &c. &c.  
Napoli.

EASTERN DESERT  
Sept. 1828.

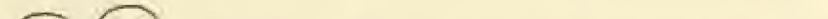
In vain, great King of Kings! have I been looking out for your arrival for the last year. I have since I last wrote been as usual suffering from ophthalmia from which the desert air has at last relieved me. It is the only place where I am free from it. I am therefore in a valley living in the gipsy style & writing & preparing my papers a copy of which I was in hopes of sending you long since; my next will I hope be accompanied by one. The last papers I mentioned to you are gone to England but I have heard no tidings of them. Champollion is arrived, & I had expected to have the pleasure of welcoming you to the Nile, but I should think so

large a party as his would not be the most agreeable addition to other travelling vexations. I have little new to tell you of hieroglyphics; all will be seen that I know of them in the papers I send you perhaps in another month, or two. Thebes was called Ani, Ana, or Hana, & not a quarter of the City. I have even got the Goddess of Thebes of this name at Karnak. Dendera, Thy-n-Athyr, the abode of Athyr, has also a Goddess; that is the town like *all* (?) others was deified, which I believe I have





been the first to notice. I hope I told you the  referred to the Kings and

not to the God Sun as Champ'ion translates it; *κρατερος Απολλων*, which led Dr. Young & Ch'pollion both into a mistake: this you would have seen more fully explained in my former papers if they had ever been published—I mean of last year. I am terribly in want of my former MSS. I wish Young had sent them me after they were done with: it would save me a journey to Nubia. Champollion's Ptolemies are mostly incorrect: no one seems to have observed that the titles of these kings as soter,





philadelphus, &c., only follow the names, & are *never* in the ovals, thus in  God


Soter, thus Ϡ Ϡ is Euergetes, & has in his title or prenomen the Ϡ of adelphus,

but Ptolemy is Ptolemy Philadelphus. Epiphanes is P & so on: this is also the

case in the Rosetta Stone, as St Peter observes. Pthah is called  or  lord of truth, as Iamblichus tells us; & I have somewhere found the Goddess of Truth or

Justice without a head as in Diodorus



mentioned will only be a man who is weighed or justified, for after they had passed this ordeal they wore , & were admitted into the presence of Osiris, unless he actually found  around his neck.  is also called  Amun simply.

The  is, contrary to the opinion of Mons<sup>r</sup> Ch. the emblem of Kneph, more properly Nef, which you will see. I do not yet understand Typhon. I do not see why he should not have been represented sometimes under the form of a good looking god.





How could Isis fall in love with  ? Anubis is called in hierog<sup>h</sup> the son of

Osiris, & I have Osiris son of Netpe engendered by Seb. I go on slowly. I like not too many conjectures. Ch[ampollion] may read a wall of hierog<sup>h</sup>: so can I or anybody else when no Egyptians are present, but I like better proofs & a more authenticated mode of interpretation than many of his Kings appear to be, & many of which are incorrect; besides he has an unfair way of changing without informing his reader of

former errors. How will he get out of the scrape of putting   Osirtesen




in one of the late dynasties when he comes long before the 18th, either in the 16th

or beginning of the 17th ? of making  and  2 different Kings, & placing


this last after the 3rd Rameses or  or making 2 of , the father [of]



Rameses the gr<sup>t</sup>? His Mandouci is without authority. Mandou is



















or . I do not like his Djem, . Why not Io or Ioh the Moon? Thoth is the Moon, & lord of the 8 regions (not books) of No, . I think you will find

a greater number of Queens & a more regular succession of Kings in the papers I shall send you than in Mons. Ch. or Mr Salt. Poor fellow, he<sup>1</sup> was terribly mistaken in his book, & very mad with me for saying so. I hope to be off in a few days to the  $\uparrow\rightarrow\uparrow$  inscriptions of Aboukescheyd, & will then send them you if I find them. I cannot make out Buto; perhaps she is after all the same as Maut. Cnoupis the

god of the inundation, , is the Kneph of Elephantine, & not a different god, as

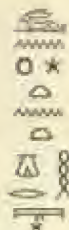
Mons. Ch. supposes. Agathodaemon  is also made . Much remains

to be done in the mythology, of which there is no end. The name of the Oasis I sent you is of Darius. I have also Cambyses, Xerxes, & Artaxerxes, from the Kosseyr road, where there are great materials as at Mt Simi. But the worst is all my papers are gone to England, as I intended to go myself. I think there were 4 orders of gods; the 4th composed of such people as the Sons of Osiris (who was of the 3rd order), besides the minor duck, rat, tortoise and other-headed gods of Amunt; many of these however are merely characters assumed by other known deities in their infernal office. There is no end to the deified attributes of the Sun. Harpoerates I think is the God "Day," Eho, , springing every morning from a Lotus. There will be the god Month, perhaps a character of the Moon or Thoth, the Goddess Year , the Goddess Hour, one for each of the 12, with x on her head (the 12 months are in regular order in the Memnonium). These hours are

	
	
 the 11th	 11th
 hour	 hour
 of	 of
 Day (eho)	 Night
	 (edjorh)
	

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Salt.


so that  $\Delta$  is *Dj* as well as *K*. The 12th hour is either with the  $\cap$  or without it, thus



What will the Dons say to my arch of the time of Amunoph I? that is about a hundred years before the Exodus; but I have actually found one for certain, of crude brick with his name on the stuccoed vault, besides one beautifully built, as well as any of the present age, of stone of the time of the 2d Psamaticus. The idea of it *went to Rome* at the conquest of Egypt, perhaps with the architect: had the Romans invented it would not the name of the inventor be handed down with all the vanity of that people? I have received no letter from you since the translation of the Rosetta Stone, Benevento Obelisk, & other fugitive pieces. Much is to be done at Napata, I find; particularly in combining the Æthiopian & Egyptian dynasties. Salt's Zera is  $\cap$ ; it is of one of the oldest kings.  $\cap$  is A, & therefore the same as Thoth, thus  $\cap$  Amosis, and also called Thothmosis. My paper bids me conclude. Believe me ever yours,

J. G. WILKINSON.

[undated]

GREAT IMAGE OF RE 

Whether letters arrive or no I cannot say; but certain it is that none come from you this way. My last mentioned a hope I entertained of sending you my new work (ready printed both in text and plate) in the course of a month or two. I have been working hard & have not had a leisure moment since that period, but time passes on imperceptibly. I had such sanguine hopes of getting it ready that I did not think it worth while writing to you until I could send all together; but the departure of Lord Prudhoe and Major Felix gives me an opportunity of sending a few lines to you, at least to announce the prospect of my being able to send you the promised papers in a very short time. I only wait for the letterpress from Malta.

Champollion still at Thebes; doing wonders in copying. But he seems to make but few discoveries; & certainly has too many theories unfounded & contrary to experience; but in return much ingenuity. I have not met him yet.....

Ld. Prudhoe is off on so short a notice that I have not time left me to say anything of hieroglyphics, besides these will suit my next much better as being upon

that subject. I have got on a little in Coptic lately, which is of great use. I find that independent of the demonstrative signs which follow groups as  $\begin{array}{c} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \\ \text{e e e} \end{array}$  or  $\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ}$  (the article always last, & the masculine article never used in hieroglyphics) has its demonstrative sign after it thus:  $\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ}$ . Again a hyena,  $\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ}$ , & the like. There are expletive signs, thus  $\text{ⲓ}$  points out an active or reflective sense,  $\text{ⲓ}$  a verb, &  $\text{ⲓ}$  or  $\text{ⲓ}$  a noun. Thus  $\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ}$ , is often  $\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ}$ , not forming part of the word but merely expletive. In my present work I also put the pages of Coptic & hieroglyphic words: extracts from a much larger work I have composed here, but which requires time to finish. You shall also have a Pantheon & Succession of Pharaohs. If you see Major Felix he will tell you everything of Egypt and Aethiopia: all are out there.

Champollion is wrong in saying  $\text{ⲓ}$  signifies "belonging to." It means "gives"

or "given"; as  $\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ}$  ergo,  $\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ}$  is Diodotus,  $\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ}$  Heliodotus, & so on. My papers

of last year (1827) or year before last are in Dr Young's hands, who says the book-sellers in London will have nothing to do with hieroglyphics, & that consequently they cannot be published. Champollion I believe was too much mentioned in them. However, I can do it here, when I have finished those of 1828. I have long been anxious to hear from you & to learn how you get on. Are you a Coptic scholar or no? Having no Dictionary, I have got through from the groundwork by means of Ld. Prudhoe's MSS, & gradually ascended from the grammar, of which I am very glad, as it gives a better idea of the formation of the language than what one learns from a Dictionary. I told you I was going to the Cuneiform Inscriptions near Suez, at Aboukeshaid; but at this place there is only a block of granite with 3 figures in alto rilievo of time of Sesostris, unfortunate king, who is now to be Ramses 6. Champollion is terribly out in his kings; about as bad as Salt with Amunemumy. These  $\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ}$  are on the way from Suez to El Arish, I hear.



$\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ}$  Kut: Qu, Kush, is Aethiopia; & Philae was called Ailak  $\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ}$ , with the article  $\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ}$ , as well as  $\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ}$ . Thebes is  $\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ}$ , Ap; with the article  $\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ} \text{ⲓ}$  Tap or

Thap. I have even the goddess



at Karnak, & other parts of it, on both













Theban than the Memphitic dialect, because Thebes was of no consequence & Memphis & Lower Egypt still populous in the later times. A pair of sandals,  as 

ⲁⲟⲣⲓ, strong. I gave you Mrs Tentyris





. Nephthys spells ⲁⲥⲟⲩ,







perhaps ⲁⲥⲟⲩ (only the word n, "house," is masculine, nn, but written ; ergo, I am inclined to call it by another word n or ⲁⲩ, *conf.* Thynabunun); but ⲁⲥⲟⲩ is


, . Athor is ⲁⲩⲁⲟⲣ, the abode of Horus . Isis phonetically is  or ,  I give to you;  we give you;  he gives;  she, &c.: all


this of course you know long ago better than I do. I told you I had



Goddess of Truth with her eyes closed. Anubis is  , "director of the weight";

ergo,  is "weighed gold"; & because  is "made conspicuous," I call , made or "wrought gold," & not silver, which seems to be in Rosetta Stone   , very

like unto ⲉⲁⲩ, "silver." A smith seems to be , *mark*, also ⲉⲁⲩⲁⲩ.


The Soul is , the *Baith* of Horapollo, which he says was figured as a hawk; it



means "life and soul"; thus















. There was an Aten-Re,


























as well as Amunre, opposed I imagine as giving and receiving. Amounreanther is, methinks, an abbreviation for ⲁⲙⲟⲛ ⲡⲓ ⲕⲟⲩⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲩ, , "king of all the

gods." "Fallen by thy sword,"  . A Hippopotamus appears to be ⲧⲁⲥⲧ,

  The Coptic participle past  $\sigma\tau\tau$  is the  $\Theta\Delta$ ; thus , "great,"  "greatened," "rendered great."  "president," & ;  $\Delta\psi$  by a verb. I make Harpocrates "the day":    ,  $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\sigma\tau$ , "day," "which springs every morning out of a lotus," .  is  $\mu$ , the initial of water, which it represents, and not a pedestal.



may be Typho, . Atmoo or Thohtmoo is a very great personage, , particularly in Amenti,  $\Delta\mu\epsilon\tau\tau$ ,  or , very nearly related to  $\eta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\tau$ , "the West"; they *meant* perhaps the same. It was perhaps in England: the tin, *kasdeer* (cursed dear) country. I cannot yet make out Gom (Hercules): no such name.  will not do. He is Ao, as plain, as Mr Salt says in his work, "as a pikestaff." The Night is  ,  $\chi\omega\pi\pi$ ; a gate  or ,  $\mu\pi\sigma$ , or   $\star$  .  $\mu\kappa\epsilon\tau$ ; ergo, "he dedicated to him a  $\mu\epsilon\chi\iota\sigma\tau\omega\tau$  (very fine) gateway, as was right":   $\star$      : the  answers exactly to  $\mu\epsilon\chi\iota\sigma\tau\omega\tau$ . Also  , "splendid obelisks," or   , "fine and splendid obelisks."

I expect Ld. Prudhoe here any moment & I must have this ready. I must therefore conclude in hopes of being able to send you my papers in a very short time after this reaches you; if you will tell me how to direct them it would be better. I shall by that means elicit a letter from you, which I have been expecting for two years.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

J. G. WILKINSON.

Sir William Gell  
in Napoli.















### III.

#### LETTERS FROM BUNSEN.

Rome, 23 August.  
[1829.]

DEAR SIR WILLIAM,

Our gratitude, our expectations, our wishes, our prayers and again our thanks have already been expressed by Gerhard, whose letter you will have received last week. But I must answer immediately your precious letter of the 17th, in order

41407 *egoor* day "much" *egoor* very many out of - letters   
 as the symbol of water which it represents. But a  
 pedestal  *egoor* , *egoor* & *Thothmes*  
 is a very great *Thothmes*  particularly a *Thothmes*  
 *Thothmes* very nearly related to *Thothmes* the west  
 they meant probably the same. It was perhaps in England. The two  
*Thothmes* (or *Thothmes*) country. I cannot get much from (Thothmes)  
 no such name.  will not do here. No a *Thothmes* & *Thothmes*  
 in the work as a *Thothmes* stuff. The Night is  *Thothmes* a *Thothmes*  
 - *Thothmes*  *Thothmes* - *Thothmes*  *Thothmes*  *Thothmes* - the *Thothmes* ready to  
*Thothmes*  *Thothmes*  *Thothmes*  *Thothmes* *Thothmes*  
 I expect *Thothmes* has been very moment of *Thothmes* have the  
 ready - *Thothmes* *Thothmes* conclude *Thothmes* of *Thothmes*  
*Thothmes* you *Thothmes* in *Thothmes* *Thothmes* *Thothmes* *Thothmes* *Thothmes*  
 if you will tell me how to direct them it would be  
 better. I shall by that means direct *Thothmes* from you. I  
 have been expecting you two years -  
 Believe me  
 your ever faithful  
 J. Wilkinson



to tell you, that there was never more interesting matter condensed in two pages as in those two. They will parade in 6 pages of the *Bollettino*, with some introductory lines of "*un suo servo*." I shall be extremely happy, if you will afford me an opportunity of forming the acquaintance of those two distinguished travellers, when they pass through Rome: we live now here in a state of perfect solitude, there being no diplomatical coffee-houses in the summer to form acquaintances.

Allow me to offer to you some observations on the contents, and to bore you with questions relating to the same.

1. As to *Meroe*: that near Dongola, altho' a cousin of Mrs Bunsen discovered it, cannot be the ancient Meroe in spite of name & pyramids, but is *Napata*. I confess I do not know the village *Thebes*: do I understand right that Josephus mentions it as belonging to Meroe, and that the same name occurs here? The Shendy-Meroe of Calliand [sic] is just where d'Anville by inspiration placed it. I am sorry that Atbara is no very conspicuous river, but is it proved that the Astaboras was as considerable as the eastern branch of the Nile?

2. The observation as to the inferiority and posteriority of the Ethiopian sculptures is of the highest importance. I should like to know, how the *posteriority* is proved. I suppose by inscriptions? This fact destroys M. Heeren's & other dreams of the civilisation of Egypt from India through Aethiopia.

4 [sic]. How can Osortasen be the most ancient King whom the English have found in Egypt, if they found Amenophis, &c.? I say this supposing that you mean Osortasen of the XXIII Dynasty, whose name is given by Champollion.

5. At Karnak the name of Thotmesis occurs. Pray *what* Thotmesis? I think we know XVIII of this name: he of the Lateran is, I believe, the 3rd.

6. Would it not be highly interesting to add, of what time is the inscription found in the pyramid of Sakkara? Or is there no royal name?

7. The wonderful name of *Proteo* might deserve to be given in hieroglyphic characters. If you have no occasion to consult Manetho's registers, or Champollion-Figeac, I am ready to do it here. We are able to print hieroglyphics, 5 bajocchi the letter.

28 Aug. I cannot tell how I rejoice that there are eminent Englishmen to controul Champollion. You know how sincerely I esteem this learned and acute man.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Wilkinson seems to be a worthy successor to Dr Young. It is not my fault that you do not [get] the *Excerpta Hieroglyphica* from Nibby: I wrote to him last Saturday (22nd) to tell him that he might send the book on by the bearer or the next morning, as there was a courier going to Naples on Sunday night. No books & no answer. A brute could not have done better. I wish you would write him a lashing letter for the purpose.

Our annals have proceeded to the 12th sheet: we shall stop for this time at the 16th, & therefore your account will come in time, till the 6th of Septbr: the earlier the better. Your interesting communications about Atina are already printed & in

your hands; at least the great Kestner did put them (not into his soup but) into his pocket to deliver them to you. The *bulletino* will be printed at the end of next week; it would therefore be very gracious, if you would send immediately some kind & instructive answers to those questions. The *tradimento* is made, & well made. Dr Nott is better, & thanks you for your kind remembrance, as does Mrs B.

Ever yours faithfully,

BUNSEN.

The specimen of composition of Champollion's fine verses is so promising (particularly the dashing rise of the growing tone of the Galley), that Mrs B. hopes you will complete it, and execute it here on the organ. Who has made the verses?

Allow me to recommend to your kindness Major Scharnhorst, son of our greatest General, and himself one of the bravest & cleverest officers of the great staff of our army. He is gone to Naples with Kestner, who probably will have already introduced him to you. I wish you to send him with your instructions to look after the *Purce Caudinae*, which he may see on his return.

Napoli.

To  
Sir William Gell,  
Naples.

*Posta ferma.*

Rome, 4th Sept.

[1829.]

MY DEAR SIR WILLIAM,

I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of your article on your excellent map: it reached me through a servant of Chateaubriand's, who had got it from the Austrian Porter, to whom it was given by the Courier, who had received it from a servant of yours, who has included your letter into one of his to the French servant. Thus I got it 9 days after its arrival, and am happy to have at last been put into possession of it. It is as amusing & interesting to read, as it is to walk in the classical country it describes, or to hear you speak of your discoveries. It has only one fault, to finish so soon, and rather abruptly. But if you are gracious, you may give us a *second article*, and permit us to call this Art. 1. We intend to have it *betrayed* into French, to make it more generally useful, and insert it into Number III of the *Annals*, which is printing at Paris.

I have got a drawing of the polygonal wall before the gate of Civitella, on the way from Palestrina to Olivano. Capt. Hertz did it accurately enough, but unfortunately without a groundplan of the whole rectangular construction. Do you know something about it?

Hearing that Ld. Pr[udhoe] & Major F[elix] were here, I called today at the

is of the highest importance. I should like to know, how the position is found. I suppose by inscription? This fact destroys M. Heron's & other dreams of the civilization of Egypt from India through Ethiopia.

4. How can Oserkhon be the most ancient King whom the English have found in Egypt, if they found Thothmose the 2<sup>d</sup> of Egypt? I am supposing that you mean Oserkhon of the XXIII Dynasty, whose name is given by Champollion.

5. At Karnak the name of Thothmose occurs. Pray what Thothmose? I think we know XVIII of the name. He of the Libanus is, I believe, the 3<sup>d</sup>.

6. Would it not be highly interesting to add, of what time is the inscription found in the pyramid of Sekhema? Or is there no royal name?

7. The wonderful name of Ptolemy might deserve to be given in hieroglyphic characters. If you have an occasion to consult Minshott's register, or Champollion-Figeac, I am ready to do it here. We are able to parse hieroglyphics, & bypass the letter.

\* \* \* \* \*

Ever yours faithfully Bunsen



Grand h[otel] intending to intrude myself upon them, in spite of your having not given me any means of making their acquaintance in a more regular way. But they were gone, which I am very sorry for. King *Osorkon* is certainly not to be confounded with King *Osorkon*, but I am not able to find his name in any of the catalogues of Dyn. XVI, XVII, XVIII. I see the list of the XVIII Dyn. you give me from Major Felix's not published book is different from Champollion's: I hope to understand the grounds of this arrangement better when you are returned, which indeed you ought to do before the *Mese di Mei*.

I shall make the best of your kind explanations in the article which will be printed tomorrow.

As to Gerhard, I confess I cannot see why the passages quoted have seemed to you to say what you seem to think they do. *Paris & London* is not equivalent to *Frenchmen & Englishmen*, and the people quoted at *Paris* are mostly Germans. The fact that there appear at Paris more *archeological works* than in London, is I believe not to be disputed. As to Young not being mentioned, *amende honorable* will be made *suo tempore*. Finally as to the cyclopean wall at Athens, it is Leake who mentions them [sic].

Gerhard hopes you will favor him with criticisms, remarks, &c., to be formed into an *article additionnel*.

I am sorry you have got the gout again: Pray do say me a word about it & Osorkon, and him who speaks of that king. And when in future some men like Ed. P. and Major F. (viz., not *Lords & Majors*, but *travellers*) pass through Rome, you might enable me to make their sweet acquaintance.

Poor Dr Nott sends you a cast of a cameo, which is thought finer than all cameos existing in the world, itself excepted, to speak with your good friends the Irish. And thus I am, my dear Sir William,

Yours truly,

BUNSEN.

## ROYAL TOMBS IN MESOPOTAMIA AND EGYPT: A COMPARISON SUGGESTED BY SOME RECENT DISCOVERIES<sup>1</sup>

BY PROFESSOR L. W. KING, Litt.D.

It is hardly necessary to say that the discoveries which suggested the comparison discussed in the following paper have been made in Mesopotamia. For, thanks in great part to the work carried out by the Fund, we already know so much of the funerary practices of Ancient Egypt that our conclusions on that subject are not likely to be materially altered, except in details, by future excavation. In fact, it is largely due to the methods of burial practised by the Egyptians from the earliest period, that we owe our remarkably full knowledge of their life and customs. The dry climate of Egypt has preserved for us intact the objects of daily life deposited in the tombs; and destruction, when it has occurred, is usually not the work of nature but of tomb-robbers. In no other country in the world do we know more of burial customs and rites in connexion with the dead.

When we turn to Mesopotamia a very different picture presents itself. There we are only beginning to collect and classify our evidence, and we still have to depend largely on literary rather than on archaeological data. I will cite a single instance to illustrate the recent condition of research. If there is one thing clear from the literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians, it is that they never burnt but always buried their dead. And yet, when the well-known German excavator, Dr Koldewey, examined Surghul and El-Hibba, the sites of two early cities in Southern Babylonia which had been destroyed by fire, he concluded he had found two immense necropoles, where the early Babylonians had burnt their dead. It required some ingenuity to adapt his observations on those sites to such a theory, for he had to explain away the houses of the old towns as houses for the dead, and their wells he took for an elaborate system of necropolis-drainage. He has since abandoned his main conclusions in the light of more recent work; but he still clings to his theory of partial-cremation, and it has been accepted without question in more than one recent work.

I do not propose in this paper to discuss all the evidence with regard to burial customs in Mesopotamia, still less to trace in detail the well-established lines of their development in Egypt. It will only be necessary to touch on these so far as they enable us to grasp the significance of the new discoveries. After giving some account

<sup>1</sup> From a Lecture on "Burial Customs" delivered to the Egypt Exploration Fund on March 16, 1915.

of the new finds, it may be worth while to examine the grounds for a suggestion of Egyptian parallelism that has been put forward by the Germans in connexion with them<sup>1</sup>.

Since the year 1903 the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft has been conducting excavations on the site of Ashur, the old capital of Assyria on the Middle Tigris. Dr Andrae, the leader of the expedition, has already published elaborate monographs on some of the temples of the city and its system of fortification, and during the summer before last the work was drawing to a close. He had uncovered the greater part of the palace- and temple-area, he had taken detailed plans of all the existing buildings, and it only remained to trench still deeper to the virgin rock, in order to complete the excavation. This process had naturally been left till last, as it involved considerable destruction to the buildings already uncovered. It was in the course of this deeper trenching that he made some very notable discoveries. We are concerned more especially with two of them.

The first of the discoveries was made on the site of a temple dedicated to Ishtar, the national goddess of Assyria. Below the foundation of the later building he first dug through a still older temple, also dedicated to that goddess. Incidentally, this building has an interest of its own, for it proved to be the oldest temple yet discovered in Assyria, dating, as it does, from the close of the third millennium B.C. But Andrae dug still deeper, and, below this primitive Assyrian shrine, he came upon a stratum in which he found several examples of rude sculpture representing, not Semites (the race to which the Assyrians belonged), but the old non-Semitic inhabitants of Southern Babylonia. The discovery proves that Ashur was a very early centre of civilization, and any custom, of which we find late evidence, may possibly have survived there from this early period. The find doubtless had its influence on Andrae's interpretation of his second discovery.

This second find was made when trenching in the neighbourhood of the palace at Ashur; and it consisted of the first royal tombs that have been discovered either in Assyria or Babylonia. Five tombs were found altogether. They consist of vaulted chambers of burnt brick, closed with massive stone doors, to which steep ramps or passages descended from above, much in the manner of an Egyptian tomb-chamber. Within these tombs were great sarcophagi of basalt and limestone. They had been rifled, probably in Parthian times, and all the basalt sarcophagi had been deliberately broken. But, fortunately, the names of their royal occupants had been engraved in more than one place on each sarcophagus. Three have been pieced together and read, and they prove to have contained the bodies of Ashur-bêl-kala, the son of the great conqueror Tiglath-pileser I; Ashur-nâsir-pal III, one of the greatest and certainly the most ruthless of Assyrian kings; and the third was the tomb of Shamshi-Adad, the husband of Semiramis. They thus date from the eleventh to the ninth century B.C. The plundering had been very systematically done, and no trace of the bodies nor of any funeral furniture was found.

<sup>1</sup> Last spring, while working in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin, I heard some discussion of the recent finds at Ashur, and I gathered further details when in Constantinople a few weeks later. Just before the war a summary account of them was published in the *M.D.O.G.*, No. 54 (June, 1914).

The Egyptian appearance of these massive stone sarcophagi struck Andrae at once. And the tombs themselves, though near the palace, were also not far from Ashur's two great temple-towers. Andrae, then, suggests that we may perhaps connect them with the towers, and he surmises that the great ziggurats, or temple-towers of Assyria, may really have been king's graves, like the pyramids of Egypt. Does, then, the new evidence justify us in accepting the suggestion that the Babylonian or Assyrian temple-tower was really, in its origin, the massive covering of a royal tomb like an Egyptian pyramid? If we accept the suggestion, we must trace the rise of the temple-tower in Mesopotamia directly to Egyptian influence exerted in the time of the Pyramid-builders. And since, as we have seen, the earliest royal Assyrian tomb discovered dates only from 1100 B.C., this form of burial, together with the massive stone sarcophagus, must be held to have survived in Ashur (and presumably in Babylonia too) from that early period. It may be admitted that no satisfactory theory has yet been put forward to explain either the origin or use of those massive towers of solid brick-work the remains of which are still the most striking features of many ancient city-sites in Mesopotamia. So Andrae's idea is at any rate worthy of examination on the chance that it may have solved the problem of their origin. One way of testing its soundness is to see how far it gains support from what we already know of the burial customs of the two countries. If they resemble one another in essential points, we shall be the more inclined to accept this theory of detailed connexion.

It is, of course, a fact that the Neolithic and early dynastic Egyptian, and the Babylonian of the early Bronze Age, both employed the contracted position of burial. But this in itself does not suggest connexion, for it represents a general custom among peoples in a lower stage of culture. The crouching or squatting attitude was the natural position of rest during life for people who had not evolved the couches, seats, and tables of a higher stage of civilization<sup>1</sup>. The early reed-mat burials are also very similar in both countries; but here too we have no proof of borrowing. It was natural for each race to bury a dead man with his sleeping-mat, as well as with his weapons and household pots, for use in the future life. And when the Babylonian began to protect his dead in pot- and coffin-burials, we again see no trace of foreign borrowing. It is only in the Hellenistic period that we have hitherto found burials that betray unmistakable Egyptian influence.

We also obtain evidence of a negative character when we compare the respective attitudes of the Egyptian and the Babylonian towards their dead. The dry climate and soil of Egypt undoubtedly had a great deal to do with moulding the Egyptian practices. The fact that a body when buried there in a shallow grave did not utterly decay, must have fostered the primitive belief that the soul of the dead man lived so long as his body remained in existence. And the simple expedient of smoking or scorching with

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that in his recent analysis of the 'Hamitic' elements in the early Egyptian race and culture, Professor Seligman, while admitting that it would be rather bold to regard the flexed or 'embryonic' position of burial as peculiarly Hamitic, appears inclined to regard such a view as at least a possible one. Should further evidence be forthcoming in support of the suggestion, the early prevalence of the custom in Mesopotamia would not necessarily imply direct connexion with Egypt if we place the cradle-land of the Hamites in Arabia, or, following Stuhlmann, in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf (cf. SELIGMAN, "Some aspects of the Hamitic problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XLII, 1913, pp. 592 ff.). But in view of the wide distribution of this form of burial, I am inclined to regard it as one that might well have been evolved by different races in complete independence of each other.

fire was the direct stepping-stone to the elaborate processes of mummification adopted in the later periods. The Pyramid Texts of the Vth and VIth Dynasties, containing religious and magical formulae for the benefit of the deceased, do not differ in principle from the elaborate Chapters of Coming forth by Day. But the Pyramid Texts themselves, even in the Vth Dynasty, were not all perfectly intelligible, and must be based, in part at least, on practices dating from prehistoric times. The black jackal of the desert, the chief despoiler of the shallow predynastic graves, is placated by becoming the guardian of the dead, and, under the form of Anubis, conducts the dead man into the presence of Osiris.

Of course the style of mummification and of the coffin varied at different periods, the massive sarcophagi and coffins of the Old and Middle Kingdoms giving place to brightly coloured cartonnage coverings in human form. And we may trace the wooden models of bakers, boatmen, etc., and the later boxes of *ushabtiu*, in direct descent from the dead slaves, strangled and buried beside their masters, in the tombs of the First Dynasty kings at Abydos. But the spirit which inspired these varied and changing practices was essentially the same. Their object was to ensure the happiness of the dead man in his future life, and the impulse throughout was based on affection and reverence for the dead. It reached its climax in the doctrine of the dead man's identification with Osiris, and his worship by the living, not in his own form, but in the person of the god.

Of course natural affection must also, to some extent, have influenced the Babylonian's treatment of his dead. But in the main he was prompted, not by affection, but by fear. The Babylonians were probably more spook-ridden than any other nation of antiquity, and their magical texts make it clear that the most terrible class of spirits were the ghosts of the dead, who for some reason had been unable to enter the underworld. Driven by hunger and thirst, such a ghost might roam about and fasten on anyone with whom it had had relations in this life; and it would plague him until he performed the rites that could give it peace. It was believed that if a man merely looked at a corpse he rendered himself liable to be attacked by the departed spirit. And it was mainly to lay the ghost and to prevent it from haunting, that the Babylonian was scrupulous in performing the due burial rites. This terror of the dead is in striking contrast to the Egyptian attitude; and it does not dispose us to look for funeral parallels.

But that fact in itself does not negative Andrae's suggestion. For dead kings might well be accorded rather different treatment to their dead subjects. We know, for example, that many of the earlier Babylonian kings were not only deified in their life-time, but were worshipped as gods after death, and it would not be unreasonable to expect their burial rites to have been influenced by deification. But it is a question that can be decided far more satisfactorily by direct archaeological evidence, rather than upon any theory of possibilities. And a detailed comparison of the pyramid with the temple-tower shows that any resemblance between them is purely accidental. Tjeser's "Step-Pyramid" at Sakkarā presents the closest external parallel to a temple-tower, but its internal structure proves that its stepped appearance is quite unessential. It is not, as some have held, a series of superimposed mastabas, but is a true pyramid, that is, a stone tumulus, with an outer brick casing to keep its sides together. The steps are merely a convenient device for thinning the brick envelope as the structure rose. It may be added that, according to a recent theory

of Koldewey, the stepping of the temple-tower was equally unessential, and indeed, non-existent; for he has, on quite inadequate grounds, questioned the current interpretation of Herodotus' description of the temple-tower at Babylon. But that is a point that need not be gone into, since the theory is not likely to win many adherents. And, whether we step the ziggurat or not, the only parallelism we obtain to the pyramid is in the solidity and mass of the two kinds of structure.

To trace any inherent connexion between the two it would be essential to produce some sort of positive evidence to connect the temple-tower with the funereal rather than with the purely religious cult, and no such evidence has yet been forthcoming, whether from the texts or from excavation. In fact the weakest point in the theory is the complete absence of any proof of connexion between the newly discovered royal vaults and the temple-towers. The former are, on the contrary, connected by means of their ramps with the South Wing of the Palace, and not with the neighbouring structure of the temple. In throwing out his suggestion Andrae may well have been influenced by the Pan-Babylonian theory, which has been so fashionable lately in Germany though it has met with very limited acceptance elsewhere. Though we must reject the idea of cultural influence, in either direction, so far as the pyramid and temple-tower are concerned, the Assyrian ramped vaults and massive stone sarcophagi present a striking parallel to earlier Egyptian practice, and, when fully published, will be worthy of further study.

## THE GREAT TOMB ROBBERIES OF THE RAMESSIDE AGE. PAPYRI MAYER A AND B

By T. ERIC PEET, B.A.

### I. PAPYRUS MAYER A.

THERE is no more attractive branch of Egyptology than the study of the judicial system and methods of the ancient Egyptians. This study has been made possible only by the decipherment of the hieroglyphic or, more strictly, the hieratic script. Thanks to the advances made in this direction we are now able not only to lay down certain broad lines of Egyptian judicial procedure at various important periods but even to gain a detailed knowledge of some of the *causes célèbres* of ancient Egypt. Of these last the most important and interesting are without doubt the harem conspiracy in the reign of Rameses III and the inquiry into the robbery of the royal tombs at Thebes in the time of Rameses IX and X. It is with this latter case that the Mayer papyri deal.

The empire of the XVIIIth Dynasty, consolidated by the warrior Rameses II of the XIXth, fell rapidly to pieces under his weak successors. The attacks of the Libyans and northern sea peoples were, it is true, successfully resisted by Rameses III, but the Egyptian empire was even more seriously threatened by decay from within. Of the weakening of the central authority and the consequent lawless condition of the country there are no clearer signs to be discerned than the series of attacks made by thieves on the tombs of the great monarchs buried at Thebes. These seem to have begun in the reign of Rameses IX, if not earlier, and to have continued into the following dynasty, when they assumed such alarming proportions that the priests found it necessary to move the royal bodies from their tombs and place them in a position of greater safety. There is something pathetic in the fate of these great monarchs whose feats are so well known to us, exposed by the weakness of their successors to the attacks of vulgar plunderers, moved from hiding place to hiding place by the still faithful priests, and finally rediscovered in the XIXth century A.D. to be carried off to a museum for the instruction of the student and the delectation of the tourist.

Between the fourteenth year of Rameses IX and the sixth year of his successor there seems to have been in progress an almost continuous prosecution of persons concerned in the plundering of these royal tombs. Fortunately for us the proceedings were all formally recorded on papyrus, and certain portions of them have been found, all no doubt on Theban soil, though the place of discovery is not known to us in all cases.

The best known of these papyri is the Abbott, which records an inquiry which took place in the sixteenth year of Rameses IX into certain alleged violations of tombs. Ten royal sepulchres were inspected, of which all were found intact with the exception of that of King Sebekemsaf of the XXIIIth Dynasty. Many private tombs had, however, been violated and a number of thieves were arrested and put in prison.

Another papyrus, the Amherst, refers to this same inquiry and embodies the confession of the thieves, who describe in a vivid narrative how they broke into the tomb of Sebekemsaf through the masonry, lifted the bodies of the king and his consort from their coffins, stripped off the ornaments and the gold, and finally set fire to the wrappings. Eight men were concerned in the plundering of this tomb. They were made to identify the scene of their crime, and their doom was left in the hands of the Pharaoh.

In the following year, year 17, a long list of thieves of the necropolis was drawn up. These were doubtless men who had plundered various private tombs the violation of which is, as we saw, recorded in the Abbott papyrus, but received little notice there in comparison with the far more serious desecration of the royal tomb of Sebekemsaf. This list of names constitutes the papyrus known as Harris A. It was found at Medinet Habu in 1860 and after suffering sadly from careless treatment and want of proper preservation found a resting place in our British Museum.

Two years later "in year 19 corresponding to year 1<sup>1</sup>," an endorsement was made on the Abbott papyrus giving the names of a number of tomb-robbers reported to the Pharaoh. Practically all these names occur in the Papyrus Mayer A, and it is probable that the addition to the Abbott simply gives the result of the trial described in Mayer A and brings the whole series of documents up to date.

In the first year of Rameses X Papyrus Mayer A was drawn up. Its fellow Mayer B gives no indication of date.

From the sixth year of the same king dates the Vienna list of documents relating to the trial. For the sake of completion we must mention as being connected with this process three papyri in the British Museum, as yet unpublished, and some fragments at Turin<sup>2</sup>.

Our main concern here is with the little known Mayer papyri<sup>3</sup>, which now lie in the Liverpool Museum. It will not be possible to give here a full translation, at any rate of the longer of the two; nor is this really necessary to our purpose, for the document records the evidence of a very large number of witnesses and accused persons, involving a great deal that is comparatively dull and a constant repetition of certain formulae.

Papyrus Mayer A originally consisted of a single piece of papyrus measuring 1430 centimetres by 425. It has been cut into two unequal portions in modern times

<sup>1</sup> This perhaps indicates a co-regency, in which case Rameses IX must have taken Rameses X as co-regent in his own 10th year, or, what is less likely, the old dating is continued to give uniformity to the whole set of documents. (See PERROT, *History*, III. p. 181.)

<sup>2</sup> SCHUBERT, *Zwei Beiträge*, II. 13.

<sup>3</sup> For early notices see *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, II. 39 and 12. 61. In 1891 Spiegelberg devoted eight days to a study of the document and sent to the Directors of the Liverpool Museum a translation of parts of it, which they published in pamphlet form. I hope in the near future to publish, with the permission of the Museum authorities, a complete transcription and translation of both this papyrus and Mayer B.

in order to facilitate preservation and mounting<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately the mounter sought further to assist the preservation of the document by covering it with a semi-transparent varnish which, while it may have slightly enhanced the black of the ink, has darkened the papyrus many degrees, and made decipherment always trying and often really difficult. On the recto there are five pages (1—5) followed by a blank space. The arrangement of the verso is peculiar. At one end is a single page and three lines of another (12 and 13) which ought perhaps to be read immediately after the five pages of the recto. At the other end of the verso begins a series of six pages (6—11) of varying breadth written upside down as compared with the single page and the three odd lines. These six pages are doubtless the conclusion of the document, for they end with a series of lists of witnesses and prisoners, with, finally, an account of the sentences given and a summing up of the whole trial.

The document begins with the dating, Year 1 of Rameses X<sup>2</sup>, fourth month of the summer season, day 15. Then follows the description of the contents. "On this day (was) the examination of the thieves of the tomb (?)<sup>3</sup> of King Rameses II and of the 40 houses<sup>4</sup> of King Seti I which lie in the treasury of the temple-domain of King Rameses III, (the thieves) whom the chief of police Nesuimen had reported in a list of their names, for he it was who had stood there with the thieves when they laid their hands on the tombs<sup>5</sup>, who were beaten (?) in examination on their feet and hands in order to cause them to tell exactly what they did, by the mayor and vizier Nebmaatranekht, by the overseer of the treasury and overseer of the granary Menmaatranekht, by the steward and.....Senes the fan-bearer (?) of Pharaoh, and by the steward and royal butler Pameryimen of the estate of the Pharaoh.

#### THE TRIAL.

The 'official' Paykamen was brought, who is under the authority of the overseer of the cattle of Amon. He was made to take the oath by the Ruler not to speak falsehood. They said to him, What is the story of your going with the men who accompanied you when you violated the tombs (?) of the kings which lie in the treasury of the temple-domain of King Rameses III? He said, I hastened with the priest Tasherî son of the divine father of the temple Hori, and with the scribe (?)<sup>7</sup> Payboki son of Nesuimen of this temple, and with the 'Nesumentu of the temple

<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough Spiegelberg seems not to have noticed this, for he passes straight from page 3 to page 6 which is on the verso of the first sheet, despite the fact that the cutting of the papyrus into two was so carelessly done as to leave the beginnings of the lines of page 4 on the edge of the first sheet, where they are visible after page 3, thus proving the correct order of the pages, which is further obvious from the sense.

<sup>2</sup> The actual king-name is not given, the phrase used being *whm nwt* 'Repeating Births.' That the reference is to Rameses X is clear from several considerations.

<sup>3</sup> Egyptian *pr n d*. <sup>4</sup> The sign for 40 is quite clear. What the 'houses' were is uncertain.

<sup>5</sup> *wt dt* 'to place the hand on' must refer either to the robbing of the places or to an identification by the thieves of the scene of their crime, such as we have in the Abbott. The former interpretation seems to me preferable in view of Nesuimen's statement, given below, from which it is clear that he was actually present when the crime was committed.

<sup>6</sup> For this title or epithet see *Recueil de Textes*, 14, 41-42, and a forthcoming note by Gardiner in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*

<sup>7</sup> The sign is curiously formed both here and in 12, 22.

of Mentu Lord of Inn, and with the "Panchsy son of Tchat who was a priest of Sebek of the 'House of Life,' and with Taty, a man belonging to Panchsy the son of Tchat who was a priest of Sebek of the 'House of Life'; total six."

From this the general facts of the trial are clear. The places attacked by the thieves are the "40 houses" of Seti I and the *pr-n-st* of Ramesses II. The thieves are said by Paykamen, one of them, to have been six in number, and this is confirmed at once by the statement of Nesuimen the chief of police, who was actually present during the commission of the crime. His evidence, which is the next to be taken is, "The men were hastening to do violence to this tomb and I went and found the six men whom the thief Paykamen has named correctly."

Then follows a long series of examinations of prisoners, suspects and witnesses. The formula of their examination is almost invariable. "So-and-so was brought. He was examined by beating with the stick; the bastinado was given upon his feet and hands, and he was made to take oath by the Ruler that he would speak no falsehood." These persuasive methods of what is euphemistically called 'examination' generally succeeded in drawing a confession of some kind out of the person examined, usually implicating someone else, who is forthwith produced and examined. In some cases, however, the accused can only be got to reply "I saw nothing," whereupon a further resort to the bastinado takes place, usually with the desired result.

Among this monotonous catalogue of confessions and denials there are a few which stand out from the rest as of higher interest. There is, for example, the evidence of the herdsman Qaru who has apparently been suspected of being one of the thieves. This he denies, but admits having purchased some of the stolen property. "As I was going down I heard the voice of the men who were in this tomb. I placed my eye to the crack (?) and saw Paybeki and Tashery within. I called to him (*sic*) saying, 'Come.' He came out with two rings of copper in his hand. He gave them to me and I gave him 1½ sacks of spelt in exchange. I kept one of them and gave one to the "Anefsu".

The next witness is the priest Nesuimen, son of Paybeki, who was "brought on account of his father. He was examined by beating with the stick. They said to him, Tell the story of thy father's going with the men who accompanied him. He said, My father was indeed there, but it was when I was a little child and I do not know what he did."

The calling of the child to bear witness against his father affords ample testimony to the completeness with which the evidence against the thieves had been prepared, a fact which is further obvious when we find that even the boatman who ferried them across the Nile is called and examined. "There was brought the fisherman Pa..... of the chapel (?) of the Prince of the City. He was examined by beating with the stick," etc. "They said to him, What was the manner of your ferrying over the thieves whom you ferried? He said, I ferried the thieves over and they gave me sack of spelt and two loaves."

A great part of the evidence deals with the disposal of certain quantities of stolen metal, especially silver, by the thieves. A certain Bukhaaf plays an important role in the story in this connection. A butcher, Pennestytau, was suspected of complicity in the thefts owing to the statement of one Porpanefu who averred that

<sup>1</sup> This is corroborated, except in small details, by the evidence of Anefsu himself.

he had seen him in the place where the robbery was committed. He denies the charge, and his accuser is produced and accuses him of being the accomplice of the herdsman Bukhaaf and another in certain thefts, the connection of which with the tomb robberies is not made clear. "Then said the court, Let Bukhaaf be brought. The herdsman Bukhaaf was brought. They said to him, What hast thou to say? He said, He was not with me at all. What is all this? He seen with Imenkhan son of Heri and with Nesimen son of .....!" Nonsense. He go with him! He never went." These vehement denials apparently exculpate Pennestytany who, we read in the last line of the document, was released. Bukhaaf, however, is "examined again by beating with the stick. They said to him, Now tell the other tombs which you opened. He said, I opened this tomb of the Royal Wife Nesymut. He said, It was I who opened this tomb of the Royal Wife Bekurner of King Menmaatra." This Menmaatra is not to be confused with Seti I, who likewise bore this name but had no wife Bekurner. The Menmaatra here in question is the successor of Seti II, and his wife Bekurner is mentioned in his tomb, No. 10 in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. Queen Nesymut seems to be unknown except from this passage.

The further examination of Bukhaaf, the translation of which is not easy owing to the state of the papyrus at this point, clearly deals with the whereabouts of certain quantities of gold, silver and copper.

Equally interesting and no less difficult from the point of view of translation is the evidence of the gardener Ahautynefer who with two others had been observed standing near the scene of the thefts by Nesuimen son of Paybeki. Ahautynefer's explanation, which is not easy to follow, appears to be that he was in the place mentioned in pursuance of his work, certain firewood used by the gardeners being stored there, and he having gone to get some of it. His accuser Nesuimen is then brought and retracts his former statement, remarking that he had made it "out of fear."

The last three pages of the papyrus, very cursively written, with ink much faded and in parts badly obscured by the varnish, contain a series of lists, the relation of which to one another it is not always easy to establish. The first, dated in year 2, first month of the inundation, day 13, is headed "The names of the thieves of the tomb (?) of Pharaoh." Of the 14 names which it comprises many have not been mentioned in the course of the evidence and we may infer that we have not here the whole of the proceedings. The next list is "Persons imprisoned in the first month of the inundation, day 13." Then follow "Thieves of the necropolis examined and found to have been in the places," among whom are Bukhaaf and Perpanefu. Then follow two persons shown to have received stolen silver and a number of persons "whom the thieves said were not with them." Finally there is a summing-up of the whole trial. "Thieves who were brought before the Vizier previously, 7 men. Thieves who were put to death ....., 15 men. Thieves whom Paynebsy slew, 3 men. Imprisoned, 15 men." And so on, ending with Imenpayinefu and Pennestytany who were 'set at liberty.'

*(To be concluded)*

\* Spiegelberg seems to me to have missed the point of these two sentences. They are not assertions but indignant and ironical echoes of the accusers' words.

## AN UNDESCRIBED TYPE OF BUILDING IN THE EASTERN PROVINCE OF THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

By PROFESSOR C. G. SELIGMAN, M.D.

THE object of this paper is to call attention to a peculiar form of monument existing in the Red Sea Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. As far as is at present known its distribution is limited to a small area in the hills to the east of the Khor Amat in the neighbourhood of Erkowit, but this must not be taken to imply that anything approaching a thorough survey has been made, or that there may not at one time have been many more monuments of this type than have persisted to the present time. Indeed, out of the monuments identified in the immediate vicinity of Erkowit, only one was sufficiently well preserved for its size and outline to be determined at a glance, while the majority of the others were in so fragmentary a condition that their nature was not recognized until the best example had been carefully studied.

The whole structure is built of stones without any cement or mortar, the surface consisting everywhere of a limiting wall of the more or less flat slabs into which the local rock readily divides, while the spaces between the containing walls are filled in with smaller fragments. Its general form will be appreciated from the photograph (Plate XXII, fig. 1) and the plan given on p. 180, the greatest length of this example being nearly 80 feet. For the purpose of description each of these monuments may be considered to consist of three main elements, viz., (i) an oblong rectangular portion; (ii) two oval masses, to each of which there is attached an expansion shaped somewhat like a fish's tail; and (iii) the curved walls uniting the other elements.

These portions may be described in detail.

(i) Although the rectangular mass which always occurs at one end of the structure is no more solidly erected than the rest of the building, on account of its size it offers more resistance to destruction, and therefore where the monument is falling to pieces more of this portion usually remains. In the monument planned on page 180, the rectangle measures about  $23\frac{1}{2}$  feet by 28 feet, and is almost 5 feet high. Fig. 2 of Plate XXII is an end view of one of these masses and shows the rounding at the corners which is usual, but not invariable.

(ii) The form of the oval masses, about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet high in the example planned, with their "fishtail" expansions, is well shown in Plate XXII, fig. 3, and Plate XXIII, fig. 4. The ovals, which are some 14 to 16 feet long by about 11 feet broad, are always higher than the fishtails, and although both are built in the same way as the rectangular



Fig. 1. General view of monument No. 2 from the "front."



Fig. 2. Another monument, view of rectangular mass.



Fig. 3. Monument No. 2; parts of two ovals and "fish-tails."







Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 4.

Monument No. 2; the heavy line in the corner diagram indicates in each case how much of the structure is shown in the photograph.

mass, the lower courses of the limiting wall of the oval are interrupted at one point by the interposition of a small number, i.e. from two to four, of upright slabs. These are always at the same point in the circumference of the oval, namely, at the centre of the side facing the rectangle. There is no chamber or space behind these stones, nevertheless, from their constancy and the uniformity of their position, it is obvious that they must have had a perfectly definite significance to the builders, and from their similarity to the false doors of Egyptian monuments I shall call them "false entrances." A view of one of the false entrances of the building planned is shown in Fig. 3 of Plate XXIII; that of another monument in much worse condition is reproduced in Plate XXIV, fig. 1. The actual size of the two larger upright stones in the central oval of the example planned is about 21 inches by 14 inches and 19 inches by 10 inches, respectively. The shape and proportion of the fishtails will be realised best from the plan, but the photographs are also of value in this direction. The fishtails are never as high as the ovals; in the example planned each is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet at its narrowest where it joins the oval, and about a foot higher at its free end.

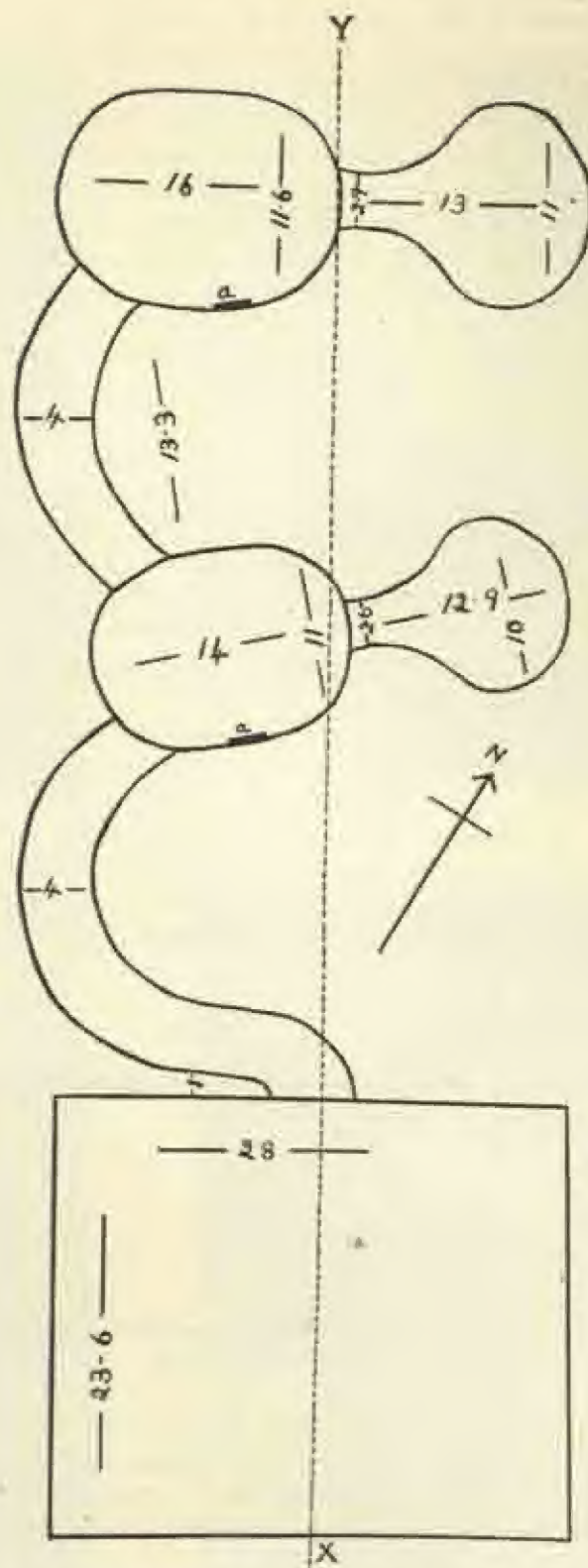
(iii) The walls uniting the central oval to its fellow on the one side, and to the rectangular mass on the other are about 2 feet high and 4 feet thick, formed like the rest of the structure of an outer layer of stone slabs laid in courses, the interior mass consisting of smaller stones. In the best preserved monument, and in at least some of the others, this wall does not join the rectangle directly, but runs almost parallel to its side for a short distance, as shown in the plan.

In every instance the orientation of the monument is perfectly definite within certain limits, the rectangular mass (i) is always between magnetic east and south of the centre of the whole structure, while roughly at right angles to this the convexity of the walls uniting the elements always faces more or less the magnetic south-west.

The following table gives the bearings taken with a prismatic compass, sighting in each case from a point in the middle of the longer outside wall of the rectangular building to the junction of the further fishtail and oval.

No.	Long axis of building	Remarks
1	290	
0	298	This building consists of rectangle and only one oval and "fishtail"
10	300	
5	308	
4	319	
6	321	
8	322	
3	330	
7	337	
2	354	This is the best preserved example: it was measured, planned and photographed.

All these figures fall within the quadrant between  $270^\circ$  and  $360^\circ$ , and with one exception the greatest difference between the bearings does not exceed  $47^\circ$ . The average of the bearings is  $318.5^\circ$ , or, ignoring the one bearing (No. 2) which is nearly  $20^\circ$  removed from the preceding and nearest member of the series,  $314.5^\circ$ . This shows



Plan of Monument No. 2: a bearing along its long axis (from point X to Y) reads  $354^\circ$ , but in putting to the cardinal points it has been assumed that the long axis reads  $318.5^\circ$ , the average bearing of the series of ten; a = "false entrance."

that these structures were orientated on a definite plan, with the rectangular mass approximately towards the eastern or south-eastern end of the structure, and the convexity of the walls, which for the purpose of description may be considered the front, to the south or south-west. It would appear that the builders, though desirous of obtaining a longitudinal axis which ran in a definite direction, were unable to produce this result without an error, the magnitude of which is at first sight astonishing. There are, however, certain factors which must be allowed for. In the first place, although the date of these buildings is quite uncertain, their erection would be well within the capacity of the present inhabitants of the country, who build stone sheep pens and fox traps, so that there is no *a priori* reason to suppose that the builders were more advanced than the present day Beja, or that they had any greater facilities for fixing the cardinal points. Now contrary to expectation I found the Beja remarkably bad at judging orientation; they utterly failed to put up a tent at night so that on the next day its interior would be as little exposed to the sun as possible, and the unsatisfactory orientation of the tent continued, even after I had told my guide (a particularly intelligent man of mixed Beni Amer and Artega parentage) to lay the ridge pole in a north-south direction. Investigating further I found that he did not know the Pole Star, or that certain stars in the Great Bear pointed to the north, although that constellation was well above the horizon every night. The other factor to which the mind immediately turns is the magnetic variation; as is well known this, in many regions, varies greatly over a number of years, but this is of no assistance, for it cannot be supposed that the builders of these structures knew anything about the compass. In any case the Red Sea Province of the Sudan is on a line of slight variation, and its maximum change since the year 1600 appears to be something like 16°. In this district at the present date the variation is about 3° W.

It seems probable that these structures were meant to stand with their long axis east and west, and were orientated on the rising sun, and although there is an obvious objection which at first makes it difficult to accept this view, this objection becomes less weighty the more it is examined. It will be urged at once that with the rising sun as guide no one would be so stupid or careless as to vary the long axis of his building by half a right angle. The answer to this is, that the rising sun when seen from the valleys and small plateaux on which these monuments stand is already high in the heavens, for to the east lies a mass of mountains with peaks reaching to a height of over 4000 feet. Moreover, for the orientation to be constant it would be necessary for it to have been determined on the same day of the year in the case of each of the monuments. These being situated well within the tropics (about 18° 45' N.) the sun would rise some 25° N. of true east about the end of June, and the same amount south of true east about the end of December. There does not therefore seem to be any difficulty in accepting the view that these structures were intended to stand east-west, and were in fact orientated to the rising sun as seen by their builders.

The natives have no idea when, or for what purpose, these monuments were built, though they say they are pre-Islamic; but this is no evidence, for they allege the same of the mediaeval Mohammedan tombs at Assarema Derheib, of the type shown in Plate XXIV, figs. 2 and 3. They deny that they have any regard for the monuments at the present day, and point out that they constantly destroy them and use the stone slabs of the limiting walls to encircle modern graves. This is certainly true, for Plate XXIII, fig. 2,

shows in the foreground one of these graves surrounded with stone slabs from the monument, nevertheless, I am not entirely convinced that all superstitious regard is absent, and believe I have come upon traces of it in connexion with one of the structures<sup>1</sup>. But whether this is so or not, questions did not reveal anything concerning the original purpose of the monuments, nor could any hint of their use be obtained from their appearance, except that offered by the constant position of the false entrances, which seem to connect them with death and burial.

It was therefore determined to explore one of the more ruined specimens as thoroughly as possible, and I take this opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to the officers of the Province, especially to the then Governor, the late Mr G. C. Kerr, to Mr J. G. Matthew, and to Mr G. R. Stormar, district engineer, for their assistance.

The monument selected was so far advanced towards destruction that the greater part of its limiting layer of stone slabs was absent, though its outline could still be precisely determined, and the false entrances were intact. The bearing from the middle of the longer outside wall of the rectangular mass to the junction of the more remote oval and fishtail was 290 degrees, the longitudinal axis of the middle oval and fishtail 201 degrees, that of the end oval and fishtail 210 degrees. The rectangular mass was about 36 feet long by 29 broad; the distance between this and the nearest point (the false door) of the central oval 15 feet; the distance of the nearest points of the central and outer oval 9½ feet, and the greatest length of oval and fishtail taken together about 34 feet. The greater part of the monument seemed to have been a good deal reduced in height by the recent removal of stones. The whole of both ovals and fishtails were cleared without finding anything, either among the stones or beneath the surface where digging showed that they were erected without any foundation. Further excavation indicated that at between 2½ and 3 feet from the surface the superficial earthy sand gave place to undisturbed soil containing much broken and rather decomposed rock. The rectangular mass was too big to be dealt with in the same thorough way in the time at my disposal, but a pit about 8 feet long by 4 feet wide was dug in its centre, going down to undisturbed soil, without revealing anything.

In spite of nothing being found I am still inclined to regard these structures as connected with burial. On the one hand it must be remembered, that in a country with a rather heavy rainfall such as the hills of the Red Sea Province, organic remains would disappear rapidly, while on the other hand, remains of interments may yet be found by excavation outside, but in relation to, these structures.

Apart from the purpose of these monuments the question arises whether it is possible to assign any date to them. I have been unable to find any account of similar buildings, nor has any one to whom I have shown the plan and photographs been able to propose any parallel<sup>2</sup>. But a suggestion as to age can, I think, be made. Not far from the Italian frontier in the neighbourhood of the Khor Gamarota are the ruins called by the natives *Assarima Derheib*. These mediæval tombs are built of slabs of stone similar to those

<sup>1</sup> In turning over some of the stones in the centre of the rectangle of the monument planned, I found the skull and some other parts of the quite recent skeleton of a sheep or goat, and not far from it parts of the wooden frame of a camel pack saddle. These could hardly have got there accidentally; moreover, they were loosely covered with stones.

<sup>2</sup> It is obvious that they are essentially unlike any of the structures described by Schweinfurth in his paper on "Bog-Gräber" (*Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, 1899).



Fig. 1. Monument No. 1: one of the false entrances.



Fig. 2. Assarema Derheib.



Fig. 3. One of the buildings at Assarema Derheib.



Fig. 4. Ruin of building on hill near Assarema Derheib.



which form the face of the new type of monument; they are taller, but apart from a cell in the base, so small as to be insignificant from a structural standpoint, they are solid throughout. Though some of these buildings are well preserved, the majority are falling to pieces, and the remains of similar buildings on neighbouring hills may be in the ruinous condition shown in Plate XXIV, Fig. 4. Although better built than the new type of monument, in that they consist throughout of carefully laid slabs and not only of a containing layer of these with a core of rough stones, the two types of structure would seem to offer roughly the same amount of resistance to the weather. If this be so, then the fact that in both types we find every condition from almost perfect preservation to ruin so complete that identification is possible only to the trained eye, would seem to suggest that they both belong to much the same period. Mr Crowfoot on excellent evidence places the date of Assarema Derheib between 1100 and 1500 A.D., attributing them "to an early wave of Mohammedan immigration before the growth of the principalities of Baza, Taka and others which arose between the disruption of the southern kingdom of Alca and the rise of the Sultanate of Sennar".<sup>1</sup> But just as the ignorance of the present-day nomads in the neighbourhood of the Khor Gamatota of the nature of Assarema Derheib betokens a break in tradition between its builders and the Beja of our own time, so the difference in style of these mediaeval *gubba* and the type of monument under discussion seems to indicate another break in tradition. The purpose of the new type of monument would not, I think, have been so completely forgotten if it had been built so recently as the period subsequent to Assarema Derheib; if this idea is correct these monuments must antedate Assarema Derheib, and may reasonably be attributed to the heathen Beja of a period shortly before the spread of Mohammedan influence which was becoming dominant towards the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The existence of the "false entrance" in the new type of monument and its possible, I will even say probable, funerary significance<sup>3</sup> does not seem to me inconsistent with this view. I have shown elsewhere how ancient Egyptian beliefs still persist in modern Egypt<sup>4</sup>, and I find it entirely credible that an echo of an old Egyptian funerary architecture should have survived among a related people until less than a thousand years ago.

<sup>1</sup> "Some Red Sea Ports in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," *Geographical Journal*, 1911, p. 550.

<sup>2</sup> Makrizi (1380—1442) wrote of the pagan Beja as utterly irreligious and unintelligent; this is largely Moslem prejudice; for in another passage he speaks of some of them who had embraced Islam and whom he considers "generous and liberal."

<sup>3</sup> The mastaba-like character of the rectangular mass is so obvious that it is needless to insist upon it; it is even possible that the *shabul* is a development of the "offering place with stones set on end in mud" which existed outside certain of the circular monuments raised over some Nubian (C-group) graves, although the orientation of the two structures is not the same. A figure of one of these graves will be found on p. 3, Bulletin No. 4, of the *Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, Cairo, 1909.

<sup>4</sup> "Ancient Egyptian Beliefs in Modern Egypt," in *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway*, Cambridge, 1913.

## NOTES AND NEWS

PROFESSOR WHITTEMORE writes from Ballabish that he has found there a number of pan-graves, which have been excavated, and a large quantity of pottery, mostly of the XXVIth Dynasty or of later date. The weather had been terribly hot (the thermometer ranging up to 115° in the tents), and a bad Khamse had not added to the amenities of the work. Professor Whittemore was to leave for Alexandria on April 17, and was proceeding thence to Bulgaria. Mr Wainwright remained working on the site till late in May. He reports that the pan-graves are very interesting.

Part XI of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, which is now in an advanced state of preparation, is to be confined to texts of a literary or semi-literary character. In the theological section, besides fragments from the LXX and N.T. and some pages from lost treatises of Philo, there is an interesting novelty in the shape of a calendar of church services held at Oxyrhynchus during the winter months of A.D. 535-6. This is much the most ancient calendar referring to the Egyptian Church. New classical texts include important fragments of Hesiod, Bacchylides, Callimachus, the fifth-century B.C. Sophist Antiphon, a historical author († Ephorus) who deals with the rise of the tyranny at Sicily, and the epitomator Heraclides Lembus. Extant classics are represented by lengthy pieces of Aristophanes and Thucydides, with minor fragments of Herodotus, Sophocles, Euripides, Demosthenes and Livy. An elaborate invocation of Isis, giving the titles under which the goddess was worshipped at different places in Egypt and elsewhere, is a valuable source of evidence concerning local cults. The volume will be issued to subscribers to the Graeco-Roman Branch of the Fund probably early in September, and Part XII, it is hoped, will follow at a comparatively short interval.

A. S. H.

Among the numerous papyri found by Professors Grenfell and Hunt during their excavations at Oxyrhynchus, and described by Professor Hunt in his article "Papyri and Papyrology" (*Journ. Egypt. Arch.*, Vol. I, p. 81), were some written in Hebrew. These have been presented by the Committee of the Fund to the Bodleian Library. Dr A. E. Cowley considers these Hebrew fragments to be of considerable interest palaeographically, and has kindly undertaken to write a short paper describing them. His article, illustrated with facsimiles, will appear in the October number of this Journal.

The following is the complete list of lectures delivered in London this season at the Royal Society's Rooms, Burlington House:

- |       |           |                                     |  |
|-------|-----------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1914. | Nov. 20.  | T. ERIC PEET, B.A.                  | "The Art of Predynastic Egypt."  |
|       | Dec. 8.   | D. G. HOGARTH, M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A. | "Alexander in Egypt and some consequences."  |
| 1915. | Jan. 12.  | A. M. BLACKMAN, M.A.                | "Ancient Egyptian Literature."   |
|       | Feb. 16.  | H. R. HALL, M.A., F.S.A.            | "The work of the Fund in Egypt during the last twenty years."                            |
|       | March 16. | L. W. KING, Litt.D., F.S.A.         | "Burial customs in Mesopotamia and Egypt: a comparison suggested by recent discoveries." |
|       | April 20. | A. E. P. WEIGALL, Esq.              | "Discoveries of the Royal Tombs in the Valley of the Kings."                             |
|       | May 18.   | Professor C. G. SELIGMAN, M.D.      | "The earliest Egyptians and their modern representatives."                               |
|       | June 22.  | T. E. PEET, B.A.                    | "The Shepherd Kings in Egypt."   |

Owing to the exigencies of the war the lectures in the provinces have been much curtailed this year; Mr Peet lectured at Sidcup on March 16, and Mr Blackman gave a course of lectures at Norwich, which were well attended.

The first and introductory memoir of *The Theban Tombs Series*, published under the auspices of the Fund, by Dr Alan H. Gardiner, and edited by him and Mr N. de Garis Davies, has now appeared as "The Tomb of Amonemhêt (No. 82)." The plates in line and colour are from the hand of Mrs de Garis Davies, and the explanatory text is by Dr Gardiner. Mrs Davies's beautiful drawings need no introduction to our readers, and the hundred and twenty pages of letterpress, which their author calls merely "explanatory text," are of the learned and exhaustive character which we always associate with Dr Gardiner's work. The colour plates are perhaps the best reproductions of Egyptian paintings that we have yet seen, and the fidelity of Mrs Davies's drawings to the tints of the originals has lost nothing in the colour-printing, which is admirable. We need say nothing more to recommend the book, and the series which it inaugurates, to our readers and subscribers. The price of the volume is 30s.

The needs of the war have claimed Professor A. S. Hunt, D.Litt., who is so closely connected with the Fund's work. He has received a commission as lieutenant in the 4th (Territorial) Battalion of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry.

Mr H. R. Hall, the Honorary Secretary of the Fund, and Mr A. W. A. Leeper are no longer to be found in the Egyptian Department of the British Museum, but are at the Official Press Bureau in Whitehall. Mr Hall is doing military work for the War Office, and Mr Leeper is working for the Bureau.

It is with much pleasure that we congratulate Dr L. W. King, F.S.A., Assistant Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, on his appointment as Professor of Assyrian and Babylonian Archaeology in the University of London, the more so in that his Professorship does not necessitate his relinquishing his post at the British Museum, where he has done so much to increase our knowledge of the history and antiquities of Mesopotamia. Readers of the *Journal* will notice an article by him in this quarterly part.

Professor Reisner has been excavating this season at Gizah in spite of war's alarms. One thinks of Hegel working away within sound of the guns of Jena, but as a matter of fact no Turks ever got near enough to Egypt for their guns to be heard there, or were ever likely to do so. A certain ditch was quite enough to stop them, and excavating in Egypt this year has been as peaceful as in England: Gizah has been no more dangerous than Old Sarum. Rumour has it, however, that Professor Reisner has had once or twice to explain with some emphasis to marvelling colonial centurions (who had never heard of such things before) the nature of a mastaba, and the fact that it is sacred to a good many people, though not to a sapper. After all, the desert is big enough to manœuvre in without getting in the way of the archaeologists, who in Egypt, the soldiers should remember, are rather important people, whatever they may be elsewhere.

The April number of the *Boston Bulletin* records the work of Professor Reisner at Gizah during the season of 1913-14. The royal cemetery of Chephren (Khafra) has been identified, and the custom of placing magical "reserve heads" of the deceased (like those published by Dr Junker in the October number of this *Journal*, Pl. XL) in the tombs is definitely dated to his age. Some of the heads found by Professor Reisner and illustrated in the *Bulletin* are very fine indeed, and are splendid examples of portraiture, especially one of a princess (fig. 11), and one of the prince Suseru-senb (fig. 12). The history of the discovery of the latter is a warning to excavators to supervise everything themselves. The tomb had previously been cleared, but Professor Reisner, knowing the bad habits of the previous explorer's workmen in making superficial examinations of tombs and then reporting to their employer that they could find nothing, examined it again, and was rewarded with this splendid head. After all, if one wants to do a thing well, it is better to do it one's self.

Among the heads are two, apparently, of foreigners, though one would like to see the faces in profile before regarding them definitely as non-Egyptian. In connexion with the foreign racial influence which Professor Reisner thinks they indicate, and brings into relation with Dr Elliot Smith's views as to an early infiltration of foreign ethnic elements from Syria, may be noted the Boston professor's discovery in these tombs of more of the strange vases of hard reddish ware which were found by Professor Petrie in tombs of the First Dynasty at Abydos. As Professor Reisner notes, Professor Petrie has always held this pottery to be of Aegean origin, although, as all Aegean archaeologists know, nothing whatever like it has ever been found within the Aegean area. Professor Petrie may be right; we may yet discover its like in Greece; but

meanwhile Professor Reisner's view, which he here expresses, that this ware is much more probably of Syrian origin, is likely to be generally accepted. It seems a much more probable view than Professor Petrie's, and we all know that regular relations existed between Egypt and Palestine under the Old Kingdom.

H. H.

Apropos of the deeply interesting question of primitive connexions between Egypt and the Aegean lands, we may record a new piece of evidence in the shape of two objects from a tholos-like tomb of the Early Minoan Period, lately discovered by Dr Stephanos Xanthoudides, of the Museum of Herakleion (Candia), at a place called Platanos in the Messara, the south-central plain of Crete. This plain seems to have been the spot where the Minoan civilization of Crete first developed. The tomb at Platanos contained a rich treasure of funerary objects of a period corresponding in time to that of the Old Kingdom in Egypt. Among them were diadems, necklaces, rings, and other ornaments of gold, seventy bronze daggers (of which ten are of the primitive triangular shape), two bronze votive double-axes, ten seals of ivory and stone, and three hundred and seventy variegated stone vases, like those discovered by Mr R. B. Seager at Mochlos on the north coast of the island. The two objects which specially interest us are a small stone idol of the same type as those of the Egyptian predynastic period and an ivory seal on which is a design of two apes. This is the first appearance of such a design on a Minoan seal. The apes, at once, show relations with Egypt, and the similarity of some early Cretan stone figures to those of wood or ivory that have been found in Egyptian cemeteries of the predynastic period is undeniable, as we see in the case of one of the Koumāsa figurines (*Journ. Eg. Arch.*, Vol. I, pl. xvii).

H. H.

In connexion with the well-known faience figures of snake-goddesses from Knossos, a photograph of one of which was republished in the *Journal* of October last, side by side with the wooden Egyptian masked snake-charmer from Thebes in the Manchester Museum (Pl. XXXIV), we wish to record the acquisition by the Boston Museum of Fine Art of a chryselephantine figure of the same kind which is supposed to have been found at Knossos. We leave the full enquiry into this remarkable figure to the journals dealing with Greek archæology (in which probably it will be discussed considerably), merely noting here that if this figure is wholly genuine, it forms a most astonishing addition to our knowledge of Minoan art. It must be said at once that the cut of the lady's jib, to use a nautical phrase, does not inspire confidence. We have only to look at the photographs published in the December number of the Museum's *Bulletin* to see that the style of the whole figure and of the head in particular is so modern that if it is certainly genuine we are face to face with one of the most amazing and surprising appearances in an art which, it is true, is always surprising us with new and amazing phenomena. The modernness of some of the works of Minoan art has always invited comment; but modern as the impression they give may be, one can see that they are really ancient all the time. The faces for one thing are ancient, obviously. But the face of this figure is absolutely modern in style and in treatment. The Minoan carver

has anticipated in this example of his work the whole later development of art in the treatment of the head, face, and hair. One archaeologist, on seeing the photographs, declared that if this figure be genuine we must revise the whole of our knowledge of the history of art. However, we are assured upon very competent authority, both British and American, that it undoubtedly is genuine, and without autopsy one would not dare to condemn it. We can, therefore, only record its appearance as one of the most surprising of all the surprises of Crete, and congratulate the Boston Museum on the acquisition of a very remarkable object.

The writer of the description in the *Bulletin* is, by the way, probably in error in regarding the curious coils on the head and back of the bronze Minoan figure of a woman at Berlin (HALL, *Aegean Archaeology*, Pl. XIX) as representing snakes, and so bringing her into connexion with the "snake-goddesses." The coils in question are, it is obvious, simply her hair, and she is raising her arm in the attitude of praying to or saluting a god. She is merely a votive figure of a female *oront*.

The March number of the *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, contains a note and illustration of a scarab of Thothmes III in the Museum, commemorating the erection of a pair of obelisks in the temple of Amou (at Karnak),



Another such scarab, of Amenhetep III, is in the British Museum (HALL, *Catalogue of Scarabs*, i. No. 1634). The type is interesting, and, as the writer of the note in the *Bulletin*, C. L. R., points out, anticipates the well-known large commemorative type of Amenhetep III.

Monsieur E. Amélineau, Professor of the study of Egyptian Religion at the Paris École des Hautes-Études, died early in this year, and in him has passed away a writer and lecturer who did much in France to popularise Egyptology. As long ago as 1882 he was attached to the French Institute in Cairo, where he remained for four years. He returned to Egypt in 1894 and conducted excavations at Abydos (the first at Umm-el-Qa'ab) until 1898. Though some valuable antiquities were obtained, these excavations hardly came up to the standard of modern scientific investigation and were renewed and scientifically carried out by Professor Petrie for the Fund. His earlier publications were chiefly concerning Coptic manuscripts, and primitive Christianity in Egypt: he was well acquainted with most of the Coptic records in Europe and Cairo. He was more successful in what his compatriots term *œuvres de vulgarisation* than in the scientific publication of material, though his large work on the geography of Coptic Egypt is useful. In later years he wrote upon ancient Egypt as well as upon biblical and patristic Coptic texts and records of monks and comobites. These communications appeared mostly in the *Journal Asiatique* and in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, of which Journal he was one of the official collaborators. His proofs of the close connexion between many of the peculiar doctrines of the Gnostics and the ancient pagan religion of Egypt were of importance, and many of his writings will prove valuable to further workers in the same fields.

J. O.

We must offer an apology to our readers for the omission of legends at the foot of Plates XIV and XV in the April number of the *Journal*. That on Plate XIV should have been "Slate palette: British Museum and Ashmolean fragments juxtaposed. *Recto*," and that on Plate XV "Slate palette: British Museum and Ashmolean fragments juxtaposed. *Verso*." By an unfortunate oversight, these were omitted.

ED.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*Sumerian Records from Drehem.* By WILLIAM M. NESBIT, Ph.D. Columbia University Oriental Studies, Vol. VIII. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London; and Columbia University Press, New York, 1914.

The latest volume in the Oriental series issued by the Columbia University contains an exhaustive study of a collection of early Sumerian documents in the possession of Dr Nesbit, their editor. As Professor Dyneley Prince states in a prefatory note, the great body of business documents that have been recovered during recent years in Babylonia furnishes in some respects more important material for the study of the social life of the country than detailed historical records. The texts here edited are part of the great find of tablets, which was made by native diggers a few years ago at Drehem, a mound in central Babylonia in the neighbourhood of Nippur. The many thousands of tablets, which were smuggled out of the country from that site, have been distributed among the principal museums and private collectors in Europe and America, and some eight or nine hundred selected specimens have already been published in a number of monographs and scientific journals. Dr Nesbit's collection of thirty documents thus forms a supplement to a class of literature, the main features of which are already well known. But it is none the less valuable on that account, and the method of publication adopted might serve as a model to other editions of a like character.

Drehem was an important agricultural centre, and formed the principal source of supply for the great temples in the neighbouring city of Nippur. The larger number of Dr Nesbit's texts consist of account-tablets concerning animals supplied for sacrifice, inventories of herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats, receipts for offerings and tribute, and the like. In addition to editing the texts with full translations, he gives complete lists of proper names and places mentioned in the texts, a classification of the different classes of animals, and a concise introduction dealing with the history and chronology of his period. In his section on the language he is certainly right in regarding the texts, in spite of their abbreviations, as purely Sumerian, but we hardly agree with him in thinking it even "among the possibilities" that they may have "been read in Semitic." At the time of the Dynasty of Ur, when these texts were written, Sumerian was a very living language, the whole of Central Babylonia was under Sumerian jurisdiction, and the few Semitic personal names that occur in them are evidence of the comparatively small number of Semitic officials and employees in the service of the temples. The site of Tummal, by the way, which is frequently mentioned on the Drehem tablets, is now no longer known; shortly after the appearance of Dr Nesbit's volume a text was published by Dr Poebel which proves that it was the name of a sacred quarter in Nippur, which was dedicated to Ninil, the chief goddess of the city.

L. W. KING.

*The Excavations at Babylon.* By ROBERT KOLDWEY. (Translated by AGNES S. JOHNS.) Macmillan, 1914.

Professor Koldwey's book, now given in Mrs Johns's translation, marks in more senses than one the end of a real epoch in the progress of Babylonian archaeology. The violent interruption to

archaeological research which the present war has necessitated, still more the certainty that, whatever the issue of the war, the future political status of Mesopotamia and Babylonia will be profoundly modified and in its turn will profoundly modify the conditions of scientific exploration of ancient sites, means that, from the view-point of the future, 1914 may well be considered the terminus of a very definite period, to be succeeded when peace is restored by one of presumably a different character. But, more than this, Koldewey's book is from its nature a definite milestone, for it marks the conclusion, in all essentials, of the most thorough and fully-equipped scientific exploration of a Babylonian site, extending over a dozen years, that has ever been carried out in this region. It is well that the labours of the period that has passed should have culminated in so worthy a work on the most world-famous of Mesopotamian cities.

The fame of Babylon has outlived that of all its neighbours, whether of older or later foundation. While the one destruction of Nineveh by the Medes sufficed to erase it from the minds of the generations that followed, Babylon survived the vengeance of Sennacherib and Ashur-bani-pal to share the spoils of Assyria's overthrow, and though her arms had to yield to the vigour of Cyrus and Darius, like later Greece she led her captors captive. Roman Caesars trembled before the astuteness of her astrologers. The romance of her history and wisdom has penetrated the legend and poetry of the countries of the West. Through Judaism and Christianity her name has become an apocalyptic symbol of earthly power and error. It is no accident that alike in their history and the applications of its lessons, the comparison of Babylon with Rome has been the favoured theme of historians, inspired writers and religious controversialists.

When we turn from Babylon in history and romance to Babylon in brick and mortar, there are few of us who will not admit some disappointment. From the descriptions of Greek historians, from the astonishment of the Hebrew exiles, the general reader would have conceived a Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar's reign as a rival in size of Imperial Rome, even comparable—it is often compared—with modern London. To a Greek to whom Athens was a great city—Athens, half the size of Edinburgh—to a Jew who was dazzled by the splendours of the little hill-town of Jerusalem, Babylon must obviously have appeared colossal. Modern excavations show the circuit of its walls to have extended twelve miles, a small area if compared with modern cities but huge for its times. The frequent and complete destructions which Babylon underwent have unfortunately deprived us of the means of reconstructing fully the city of earlier days, but Dr Koldewey sets the Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus very fully before us, and alike through the thoroughness and carefulness of systematic excavation, through complete acquaintance with Greek and Babylonian literary authorities, and by intuitive understanding of the problems peculiar to work of this kind, he with the scholars who were associated with him—among whom such men as Andrae, Weissbach, Meissner and Noldeke need only be mentioned—already has, though he himself declares the work is only half done as yet, justified his claim to 'resurrect' Babylon. His work may be judged on two lines—first and most important the settling of the topography of the city, the former course of the Euphrates, the outer and inner city walls, the palaces of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar, the temples E-sagila, E-Mach and E-temenanki, and the line of the Procession Street which passed E. of the Citadel, through the Ishtar Gate down to the modern mound of Amran where the temples E-temenanki and E-sagila have been located, while it connected with the Euphrates Bridge of which Dr Koldewey has found the remains of the piers. Second, the 'finds' in the sense of definite objects of artistic or historical or literary interest. Flint and stone implements show the age of Babylon as an inhabited spot since the 5th Millennium. From the populous quarter of Merkes there are tablets from the end of the First Dynasty, and houses from the Kassite period can be studied. The most striking objects are undoubtedly the decorative reliefs in enamelled brick, the lions that ornamented the walls of the Procession Street, the bulls and quaintly imagined dragons of the Ishtar Gate that give us some idea of the gorgeously of Classical Babylon and illustrate a very important stage in the art which culminated in the Persian Archers of the Guard of the Louvre.

No reader can abstain from expressing his gratitude to Mrs Johns for her admirable translation of a pre-eminently technical book. By an error common in English writers but seriously in conflict with historical fact, the German Emperor is styled on p. viii 'Emperor of Germany.' The general appearance of the book leaves nothing to be desired.

A. W. A. LEEPER.

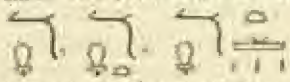
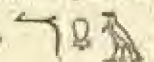


*Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum.* By H. R. HALL, M.A., F.S.A. Vol. I. *Royal Scarabs.*

Among the smaller Egyptian antiquities none have attracted a greater share of attention than scarabs. There are several obvious reasons why they should have appealed strongly to the tourist and the collector. To the Egyptologist, however, they have a deeper significance, for they cover a long period of Egyptian history in an almost unbroken series, and their style and the inscriptions they bear often make it possible to date groups of objects to whose epoch there is no other clue. In order to make full use of this aid to chronology it is necessary to have, reduced to reference form, the experience of those who have studied many thousands of these objects. In this lies, perhaps, the chief value of such works as Professor Newberry's volume on the scarabs in the Cairo Catalogue and, still more recently, Mr Hall's publication of the Royal Scarabs of the British Museum. This latter is the first volume of a work which is to include the whole of the scarabs and other seals of the museum.

It need hardly be said that in point of view of finish and appearance it is in keeping with the standard which we have learnt to expect from all the British Museum publications. It is, strictly speaking, a reference catalogue, but there is added to it an introduction which gives it a further value. In this Mr Hall deals with the nature, origin and use of the various Egyptian forms of seal. With regard to the scarab he clears up quite definitely several points which have been doubtful, or more correctly, regarding which false ideas have been floating about. Thus he insists on the fact that the scarab was in origin purely an amulet; only later was it inscribed and used for sealing. Moreover there is a curious return to the original idea after Ramesside times, when the scarab tended to lose its value as a seal and to become once more an amulet, now taking its amuletic value from the words inscribed on it.

With regard to the date of the earliest seal scarabs Mr Hall is perfectly definite. Blue-glazed scarabs of rough form with geometrical designs on their bases do indeed appear contemporaneously with the button seals of the end of the Old Kingdom, but the manufacture of fine scarab seals does not begin until the XIth Dynasty and is not usual until the XIIIth. The well known scarabs with the names of Khufu, Khafra and other pyramid builders he ascribes to the renaissance workmen of the Saite Period. The evidence for this lies in the fact that these scarabs are identical in form, style and technique with scarabs bearing the names of kings of the Saite Period.

With regard to the various words for 'a seal,' 'to seal,' Mr Hall exercises a wise caution. He mentions the two roots *sdj* and *hsm*, adding in footnotes that the first is used of sealing in early times, while the second, used as a substantive, only occurs in late texts. We may add to this that the British Museum has itself a stela (No. 146 [574]) which gives us the rare full writing *sdj/wt* for 'a seal' in the Middle Kingdom. It would be interesting to know whether Mr Hall's researches into these two roots led him to any conclusions with regard to the meaning and readings of the difficult

 The first is doubtless equivalent to , 'overseer of sealers': the last clearly means 'overseer of sealed things,' but are these treasures or contracts, and is the reading *sdj/wt* or *hsm/wt* (*hsmwt*)? finally is the second equivalent to the last, or does it read *hmy r' sdj/wt*, 'overseer of the seal,' as an occasional variant with the vertical stroke after the  would suggest? In the same connexion a further word *hst*  'a seal,' quite distinct from *hsm* 'a signet ring,' might be mentioned. It occurs in Anastasi I, Abbott, Mayer A. and elsewhere.

In dealing with the cylinder seal Mr Hall very rightly calls for caution before admitting its derivation from Babylonia, since it is already found in Egypt in the predynastic period. He suggests that it may have been derived from a short length of reed on which characters were cut. An alternative to this is suggested by a cylinder from Carchemish, now in the Ashmolean Museum, which is of bone. Mr Hogarth, who pointed it out to me, suggested that here we may have the clue to the origin of this form of seal. In defence of this it might also be alleged that the surface of a reed would be difficult to cut well and would probably be very perishable when cut.

No portion of the Introduction is more interesting than that in which Mr Hall discusses the development in the form of the scarab throughout its long history. Some attempt to date the various types by means of the form, especially that of the back, had been made, notably by Newberry.

Mr Hall, however, has carried this analysis much further and has added to it a new criterion which seems almost more important, namely the profile of the scarab viewed from the side. At the same time, the student who hopes with the aid of Mr Hall's excellently illustrated table of classes and sub-classes to be able to date every scarab he meets will certainly be disappointed. The reason for this lies not in Mr Hall's classification, but, as he himself tells us, in the nature of the subject-matter. In the first place, certain types cover a long period, and in the second a rigorous classification on a single criterion is impossible, for almost any form of back may be combined with almost any form of legs and profile. The fact is that we are here face to face with that peculiar phenomenon of scientific study whereby one who has handled large numbers of objects apparently almost exactly alike acquires a sense enabling him to draw distinctions which he can only imperfectly express in words. This is a fact which is known in every branch of research, and when an expert tells us that such or such a scarab is to be assigned to the XIIIth Dynasty because of its 'general appearance' we have no right to cavil because he cannot make his secret ours in half a dozen words. At the same time there are certain forms which are peculiar to certain periods, and these even the beginner will have no difficulty in picking out with the aid of the tables. As for Mr Hall himself his true reward will come in his later volume where his minute study of types datable by the king-names on them will enable him to place scarabs whose inscription is of no assistance.

In the translations of titles several new interpretations are given. Perhaps the most interesting is to be found on p. 224 (No. 2604) where the title  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$  is equated with  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$ , both being read *tpy ntr ntr* 'he who is on the king's throne,' i.e. the royal favourite or regent. It is 'difficult to accept this interpretation in the case of the latter title since the last sign is invariably quite definitely *kr* and not *ntr*. This is especially clear in instances such as *Der el Gebauri*, I. Pl. VII. where both the sign in question and the *ntr*-sign occur in the same place of inscription and are quite distinct in form. Variants also occur with the *r* of *kr* written out. Moreover in  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$  the last sign

reads *ipy* (fem. *ipit*) as shown by the variants  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$  (*Mus. Arch. Franç.* I. 301) and  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$

(Petrico, *Deir el Bahari*, Pl. 98). The title is in most cases feminine. The title  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$  *hry d'dr' (tp)*

*ntr* has been well treated by Sottas in *Sphinx*, XVII. pp. 1 ff., a reference I owe to Gardiner, who also kindly verified for me some references to which I had no access.

The question of the method in which scarabs should be illustrated is a difficult one, and considerations of cost often prevent the attainment of the ideal. At the same time most people are agreed that unless a very brilliant photograph can be obtained and printed by colotype a facsimile copy in black and white is a necessity. Such facsimiles render unnecessary the use of hieroglyphic type, except in rare cases, and are far clearer than half tones. Where they have been used in this volume they seem so successful that they make us wish they had been employed throughout. On this point opinions may differ, but no one will refuse to accord to Mr Hall the thanks that are due to him for the painstaking care and accuracy with which he has followed out what must often have seemed an almost endless piece of tedious monotony.

T. E. PEET.

*The Rock-Tombs of Meir, Part I.* By ATILFARD M. BLACKMAN, M.A. London: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1914.

This twenty-second memoir of the Archaeological Survey in no way falls short of its predecessors in interest. Mr Blackman has found in the rock-tombs of Meir a fruitful field of work, and the present memoir will, we hope, be the forerunner of others of equal value on the same subject. In this volume is described the tomb-chapel of Senbi, Ukh-hotp's son. The nomarchs of Oases who are buried at Meir excavated for themselves in the hillside a series of tombs which contain painted reliefs of more than ordinary interest in many respects, as we see from the plates illustrating this volume. Mr F. Ogilvie's coloured plates give an idea of the fine though somewhat low-toned colouring of the reliefs, and the colotype reproductions of photographs of many of the scenes supplement

Mr Blackman's own very accurate and careful drawings. Of these the most interesting are Plates VI, VII and VIII, reproducing a scene of Senbi hunting in the desert. The ancient artist represented this in a remarkably free and naturalistic style. The figure of Senbi shooting with the bow; and the group of a lion dragging a bull by the muzzle, are of considerable importance in the history of Egyptian art. Further, the curious figures of the Beja herdsmen on Plates IX and X (reproduced photographically on Pl. XXV and in colour on Pl. XXXI) are delineated with remarkable fidelity to the physical characteristics of the sun-browned and thin desert race.

Senbi was a contemporary of Amenemhat I. His is not the earliest tomb on the site. The oldest is that of a prince contemporary with Pepi I. The XIIth Dynasty family to which Senbi belonged largely bore the name of Ukh-hotp. The *uht*, which forms part of the name, was a sceptre emblematic of the goddess Hathor of Cusae, and was itself regarded as a form of that divinity, so that its name could be used as that of a deity, and be compounded with such words as *hahp*, *nakht*, etc., in proper names. Mr Blackman describes and figures the various forms in which this object of local worship was represented. He also gives us a description of the site of Cusae and a genealogy of its VIth and XIIth Dynasty princes, so far as they are known. The peculiar art of the place, as exemplified in these tombs, receives special treatment. And the tomb-reliefs themselves are described at length.

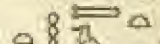
We may congratulate him and the Fund on a very interesting piece of work.

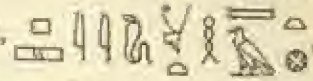



H. R. HALL.

*The Temple of Dendûr.* By AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN. Cairo: Service des Antiquités. 1911.

Some years ago Mr Blackman was employed by the Service des Antiquités to make a complete publication of the Temple of Dendûr for Sir Gaston Maspero's series "*Les Temples Immergés de la Nubie*." The probable submersion of the temple owing to the imminent heightening of the Aswân Dam made such a work urgently necessary.

There is much that is interesting in this building of the Roman period. For such debased art the style of its sculptures is good. They are well reproduced in a fine series of photographic plates and in the careful drawings of Mr J. A. Dixon, who was associated with Mr Blackman in the work. Mr Blackman's description is elaborate and careful, the whole temple being minutely described from top to bottom, as was necessary; nothing is omitted, whether interesting or uninteresting.

The temple was dedicated to two deified men, Petesí and Pihor "the chief," the sons of Kupa, who seem to have owed their deification to the fact of their having been drowned in the sacred stream. Such favoured mortals were called "the praised ones," *hwyw*; and the word *ḫwt* came to mean simply "drowned" in Coptic. Petesí and Pihor were, as Mr Blackman says, the "sheikhs" of Tutais, as (he shows) Dendûr was anciently called. His identification of Tutais with Dendûr seems quite certain. It used to be supposed that the ancient name was *Enthûret*, but this, however alluring it may sound, is incorrect, and due to a confusion. The Egyptian name was *T[ut]ḫt*, 

Tutais. In an inscription the *Shai* or Agathadaimon of Tuhie is mentioned,  and in this the sign  was misread as , and the  misconstrued as part of the name instead of what it is, the word *n*, "of"; so that we used to read "the *Shai* (of) Enthûret," instead of "the *Shai* of Tuhiet." Mr Blackman has now put us right.

The interest of this temple, its art, and its remarkable dedication will excuse a belated review.

H. R. HALL.

## DID MENEPHTAH INVADE SYRIA?

BY PROFESSOR EDOUARD NAVILLE, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A.

THE sentence on the stele discovered by Professor Petrie in which Israel is mentioned as well as other nations contains interesting historical facts. It is therefore well worth trying to discover its real significance, and to give it its right interpretation. Its text is the following:



Numerous translations have been proposed. I shall begin with those of the two editors of the stele.

Professor Spiegelberg<sup>1</sup>: "Niemand (sic) unter den Neunbogenvölkern erhebt sein Haupt. Verwüstet ist *Thun, Cheta* zur Ruhe gebracht, das *Kanaan* ist mit (?) allem Schlechten gefangen (?). Fortgeführt ist *Askalon*, *Gazer* genommen. *Jenoam* ist zu nichts gemacht, *Israel* ist verwüstet und seine Saaten vernichtet, *Her* ist wie die Wittwen (sic) von Aegypten geworden."

Mr Griffith<sup>2</sup>: "No one raises his head among the Nine Bows. Devastated is Tehenu, Kheta is quieted. Seized is the Kanaan with every evil. Led away is Askalon. Taken is Gezer. Yenoam is brought to nought. The people of Israel is laid waste, their crops are not. Kher (Palestine) has become as a widow for Egypt."

Professor Breasted<sup>3</sup>: "Not one holds up his head among the Nine Bows. Wasted is Tebenu, Kheta is pacified. Plundered is Pekanaan with every evil. Carried off is Askalon. Seized upon is Gezer. Yenoam is made as a thing not existing. Israel is desolated, his seed is not; Palestine has become a widow for Egypt."

The last is that of Sir Gaston Maspero, in the newly published edition of the catalogue of the Cairo museum (p. 170):

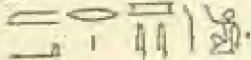
<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschr.* 1896, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> PETRIE, *Stele Temples*, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancient Records*, III, p. 223. Professor Breasted puts in parenthesis the illegible readings of the names according to the Berlin system.

"Maintenant que les Libyens ont été battus, le pays de Khita est pacifique, le Canaan est pris avec tout ce qu'il y a de mauvais en lui, les gens d'Ascalon sont emmenés captifs, ceux de Guézer sont saisis, ceux d'Iouqnam n'existent plus, le peuple d'Israël est rasé et il n'y a plus de sa graine. La Syrie est devenue comme les veuves de l'Égypte."

None of these translations gives the real significance of these sentences. They have been interpreted by Professor Breasted and others as meaning that Menephtah<sup>1</sup>, like his father, had made a successful campaign in Syria and Palestine. This assumption does not seem justified by the character and the contents of the stela. This long inscription is an eulogy merely of the great victory of Menephtah over the Libyans,


of the defeat of their chief , and this eulogy was written a short time after the victory. In the fifth year in the second month of the third season, the King was informed of the invasion of the Libyans<sup>2</sup>, and the two great laudatory inscriptions are said to have been engraved or written in the following month, one in the Delta at Athribis<sup>3</sup> and the other one at Thebes. This is something analogous to the hymns or festive songs which in antiquity as well as in modern times arise after a great victory, or a signal deliverance. There are several examples of such hymns in the Old Testament.

It seems most improbable that if before fighting the Libyans Menephtah had conquered Syria there should be no allusion to this great achievement except those few words at the end of the stela. The author would certainly have spoken of the great slaughter made by the King, of the heads of the chiefs cut off; he would have given the usual bombastic description of the triumphs of Menephtah. Besides, as Mr Max Müller very aptly says<sup>4</sup>, Menephtah, who lived in peace with the Hittites and who was threatened in his own kingdom by the Libyans, could not have made conquests in Syria in the first and second year of his reign.

Still less can we draw any inference as to such a campaign from the day-book of a frontier official which is found on the blank backs of a papyrus which is something like a schoolboy's copybook<sup>5</sup>.

According to Professor Breasted, "it is of importance also as showing that Merneptah in his third year was in Syria, undoubtedly on the campaign during which he plundered Israel as related in his Hymn of Victory of the year 5<sup>6</sup>." We shall see that this document does not speak anywhere of the presence of Menephtah in Syria.

This document is evidently written hastily and with some negligence; it is the memorandum of an agent. It is a record of letters which the official sent to various places, through different messengers. It is to be observed that most of them have

<sup>1</sup> The transcription *Merneptah* of the Berlin school is erroneous. The  is always dropped before a consonant, as we learn from transcriptions like *Cairo*. Therefore the right transcription is *Menephtah* or *Merneptah*.

<sup>2</sup> *Maspero, Zeitschr.* 1881, p. 118.

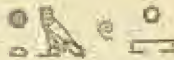
<sup>3</sup> *Asiae et Europa*, p. 222.


<sup>4</sup> *Israel*, III, pls. VI and V verso. This document was first translated in 1873 by Chabas (*Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte*, p. 95, and II). Six years afterwards Professor Erman published the text and translation of it (*Zeitschr.* 1879, p. 25) with this observation: "Meines Wissens bislang noch ungeschaltet geblieben."


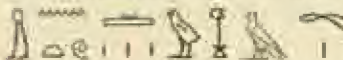
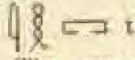
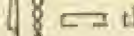
<sup>5</sup> *Ancient Records*, III, p. 271.

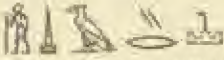

<sup>6</sup> *Maspero, Zeitschr.* 1883, p. 65.

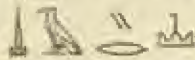
Semitic, I may even say Palestinian names. They are going back to their countries, and it seems probable that they had come for some commercial purpose. These messages may be considered as the origin of the post, the interchange of communications between foreign countries.

Where is the official posted? It seems probable that he is at the  "the fort of Djar," the present Kantarah, which may be considered as the key of Egypt on that side, and the starting-point of the armies marching into Palestine; he might be also in the "town of Menephtah," of which we shall speak further, but that seems less likely.

The first batch of messengers goes in the third year, on the fifteenth day of the ninth month. The first postman, whose name begins with *Baur...* the son of *Zippor* native of Gaza, is to go to Kharu. He is the bearer of two  letters of different contents.

On the same day goes  "the head or the chief of the peasants, Khai." He does not go very far, since a few days afterwards, on a day which Chabas reads 18 and Erman considers as doubtful, he is back and brings a letter  lit. "things brought, one letter." Whether his journey lasted three days or more, it could not be very long and the place to which he was sent not very far distant. I should say it was the  the royal estate or farm, which as we shall see we can locate approximately. The peasants are often mentioned in connection with the  the agricultural estates<sup>1</sup>.

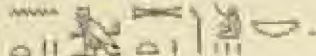
The same day goes a messenger called  I can hardly think that it is the "chief of Tyre," "*der Fürst von Tyrus*." It would be rather extraordinary that a man of such a high position should be a mere messenger of a land agent, sent by him to carry a letter; even admitting that Tyre was not the great and powerful Phoenician city, but that described in the Tel el-Amarna letters. The hieratic sign seems to me to correspond better to  *aaui*, "the old man or the veteran soldier!"

As for  we shall see further that it cannot be so far as Tyre. In the same year and the same month arrive "the head of the auxiliaries of the Well of Menephtah," which is probably in the neighbourhood of the estate, "with all the officers<sup>2</sup> who are to be witnesses in the fortress of Djar<sup>3</sup>."

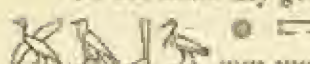
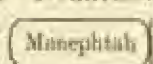
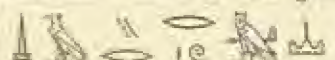

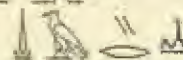
On the 18th day, according to Chabas, go three messengers, all of them natives of Gaza; they are sent to the place where the king is. The chief of the peasants Khai brings a letter probably with other things, showing that he is back.

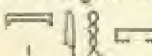
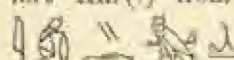
<sup>1</sup> Breussch, *Dict. Suppl.* p. 305.


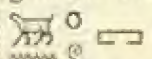
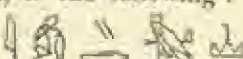
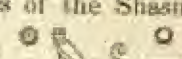
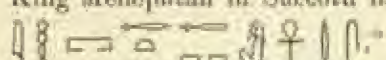
<sup>2</sup> Breussch, *Dict. Suppl.* p. 32.

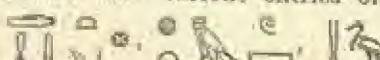
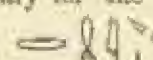
<sup>3</sup> I read .

On the same day goes "Nekhtuamon, the son of Djair from the castle of Menephtah"

  (Menephtah), who is to reach the place Djair-ruma, and who has to go to Kharu. He bears two different letters, one probably to the place he is to reach first, and the second to the goal of his voyage, Kharu. The intermediate station is written  according to Erman,  according to Max Müller.  has been mentioned before, and this second name seems to show that it was a city or district divided into two parts; since it is reached before Kharu, it cannot be Tyre. The other messengers of that day are a head of the peasants, and a steward, said to be "from this town," whatever it is. I believe it to be the fortress of Djair where the official resides.

The next messenger is  "the head of the estate and chief of the fort Ani(?) from the town or village of Menephtah which is in the district of  Adima." He has to bring two letters to the place where the king is.

The last messenger who goes on the 25th is "a coachman or an equerry from  (Menephtah)  the great royal estate of Menephtah." This estate we know from a papyrus in Bologna from a letter concerning horses<sup>1</sup>. Another text which will give us a clear indication of the site where we are to look for the village, or castle of Menephtah, is the following<sup>2</sup>. "We have allowed the tribes of the Shasu of the land of Adima  to pass the stronghold or fort  of King Menephtah which is in Succoth towards the lakes and ponds of Pithom of King Menephtah in Succoth in order to feed their cattle in the great estate of Phamoh .

If we compare this text with the various entries of the day-book we have to conclude that what is called  of Menephtah is or belongs to the same construction. It is, as Max Müller says, a stronghold on the limit of the desert. It has to protect a great estate of the king and its ponds necessary for the cattle. We see a stronghold of that kind in the time of Seti I, called  which guarded a well and a pond. Near the fortification, which consisted of one or several towers, were habitations for the people of the estate; that is why it is called a town or a village. Judging from the sculptures of the campaign of Seti I, I should say that the "Well of Menephtah" was in the neighbourhood of this village.

The stronghold of Menephtah was according to the two texts either in Succoth or in Adima. These two regions were both borderlands, and they were contiguous; their limits were not well marked, it could not be said exactly where they finished. Therefore the stronghold could be attributed to the one or to the other.

<sup>1</sup> LIVER, *Correspondence*, pl. II, 10, III, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Assat.* vi, pl. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Livr. Doubl.* III, 126 b.

*Adama* from which the Bedouins come has always been considered as being Edom. This identification seems to me quite erroneous. Edom and Succoth were separated by a great waterless desert. At the time of Menephtah, the time of the Exodus, Edom was Mount Seir<sup>1</sup> on the South of Palestine, and the region around it, the land of the Horites which is called here Khuru; and to suppose that starting from that region the Bedouins made the long journey across the desert in order to water their animals near Pithom is really absurd. It is a case of common sense versus philology. The narrative of the Exodus gives us the true transcription of the Egyptian word. It is *Etham*<sup>2</sup>, which is the first station of the Israelites after they had left Succoth: "and they took their journey from Succoth and encamped in Etham in the edge of the wilderness" (Ex. xiii, 20, Numbers xxxiii, 6). We know that the wilderness of Etham was waterless, and it is natural that the Bedouins of that desert should have asked permission to drive their cattle towards the ponds of Pithom.

The name which corresponds to Edom of the Bible at the time of Menephtah is






Kharn, the land of the Horites. This country is the remotest point to which the messengers of the official are sent, the southern part of Palestine.

The correct interpretation of the day-book does not give the slightest indication of a victorious campaign of Menephtah in Palestine, nor even of the presence of the king in Syria, since the messengers who are to find out where he is are precisely those who are not sent abroad to Kharn, which is often interpreted as being Syria and which is the land of the Horites. The king was probably somewhere not very far away, in the village or stronghold bearing his name or in his estate in Succoth.

Let us now revert to the stele: "Nobody dares to raise his head among the Nine Bows or the barbarians. The land of the Tehennu is wasted." This we have heard at great length in the stele.

If Menephtah is safe on the West, it is the same on the East. "Kheta is at peace." The king's father had made a treaty of peace for ever with the Hittites. This treaty had been confirmed by the marriage of Rameses with a daughter of the King of Kheta who seems himself to have brought his daughter to Egypt. We know from the Tel el-Amarna tablets that such marriages were the guarantees of treaties and alliances. Therefore we have every reason to think that the intercourse between the two nations was of the most friendly character.


Then the writer goes on to the coast of Palestine: "The land of Kanaan is prisoner of all bad things": we should now say, of all kinds of bad things. There is no doubt that    means "make prisoner" and not plunder. Besides we cannot find much sense in the translation of Professor Breasted: "plundered is Pekanaan with every evil." Evil things are not generally objects of plunder.

We have here figurative language, or a metaphor like many found in Egyptian, and the ignorance of which has often led to absurd translations. In French we use

<sup>1</sup> Deut. ii, 5, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *The Story of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, 4th ed. p. 28. It will be objected that this transcription does not quite agree with the laws of philology. But when do we see that the transcription of a proper name into a foreign language follows those laws? The ruling element is the ear. A name is transcribed from its sound, or from popular etymology. What does the official of Menephtah know of philology? He writes in his day-book the names as he hears them.



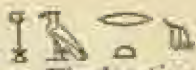
a popular etymology. The Horites, Khari, "have become like a widow  of Egypt." We have a curious commentary on that sentence in the great Elephantine papyrus. Describing their distress after the destruction of their temple, the Jews say: "Until the present day, we wear mourning clothes, we fast, and our wives are like widows." We do not know the cause of the distress of the Horites; they might have suffered also from the wars which had been raging in the land, or perhaps Khari was the country which the Israelites were said to occupy, and their destruction would leave it quite desolated. The Israelites had left Egypt under peculiar circumstances; none of them had remained in the land, and therefore for the people of Egypt that meant their annihilation.

Thus the last lines of the stele show that the safety of the king is complete. On the African side his victory was brilliant and decisive; on the other side Kheta was at peace with him since his father's reign, and the other nations, which eventually might have become his foes, were reduced to a state of utter helplessness.

There is no indication whatever that this state of things was due to the victories of the king. He is not mentioned as conqueror; it is not said that personally he did anything in the destruction of Ashkelon or Inuamma. It would be quite contrary to Egyptian inscriptions such as we know them, to forget in that way the great deeds of their king. Every victory, every contest is due to the king himself. In Egypt a historical narrative bears still the character which history has at its origin. History began with biographies, and historical inscriptions in Egypt, or even in the books of Kings or Chronicles in the Old Testament, are nothing but biographies of the king, or events connected with his person.

No more than the day-book of the official does this inscription record a conquest of Menephtah in Palestine. The successful campaign attributed to him is a mere hypothesis resting on two texts neither of which gives any indication whatever of this war, and still less a positive proof. It must therefore be entirely struck out of the annals of Menephtah.



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## THE EXCAVATIONS AT BALABISH: PRELIMINARY NOTICE

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT, B.LITT.

DURING the months of April and May this year Prof. Whittemore and I carried on a small excavation for the American Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund. The site selected was Balabish on the eastern bank of the Nile, a place for which the least distant station is Abu Tisht just south of Baliana.

Here there has been a very large cemetery of the New Kingdom, which has been worked over by the Government and also plundered by the natives. We confined our attention to the ends of the desert tongues which had only been slightly touched in modern times, and found interesting relics dating to the late XVIIIth dynasty. Much more important however was a small series of the rare "pan-graves" which we discovered on the fringe of the great cemetery, at the extreme points of the tongues. Apparently a small population in the "pan-grave" period had begun to use these headlands, being nearest to the cultivation, and had no need to go further into the desert. Then the larger and more wealthy population of the late XVIIIth dynasty continued using the ground until they had filled up the whole ridge behind the "pan-graves." Our "pan-graves" were cylindrical wells from one and a half to two metres deep, in no sense like the shallow pans which Professor Petrie found at Hu, but similar to the group which he excavated at Rifeh. Other graves which produced typical "pan-grave" objects were of oblong shape, some quite small, evidently for a crouched burial, others were long enough for a full-length burial like the "Egyptian" graves.

The civilization is strongly Southern in style as is evidenced by the pottery and even a lip-stud, and moreover by the prevalence of leather-work, and bone implements and shells. The two other connections of these people which Professor Petrie has remarked are duly exhibited. They are found in the first place in the usual damaged *kohl* pots and fine axe-heads of Middle Kingdom type, and probably the clear crystal bead glazed blue belongs to this group. In the second place connections are found with the pre-dynastic people of Egypt. Thus on one occasion a large jar still contained scented ointment, while in others, though the deposit itself had disappeared, the scent remained. Further there were small palettes and their pebbles for grinding paint, besides a few lumps of malachite and some other ore, galena(?) or haematite(?). The above-mentioned bead of glazed crystal should perhaps be included in this category, as the glazing of quartz was a pre-dynastic art. In this connection most remarkable of all was a pot of the true pre-dynastic type D, or decorated class (Pl. XXV, fig. 2).



Fig. 1. Net Bag of Elephant's Hair and Pierced Leather Kilt.



Fig. 2. Group of "Pan-Grave" Type.

"Pan-Grave" Objects from Balabish.

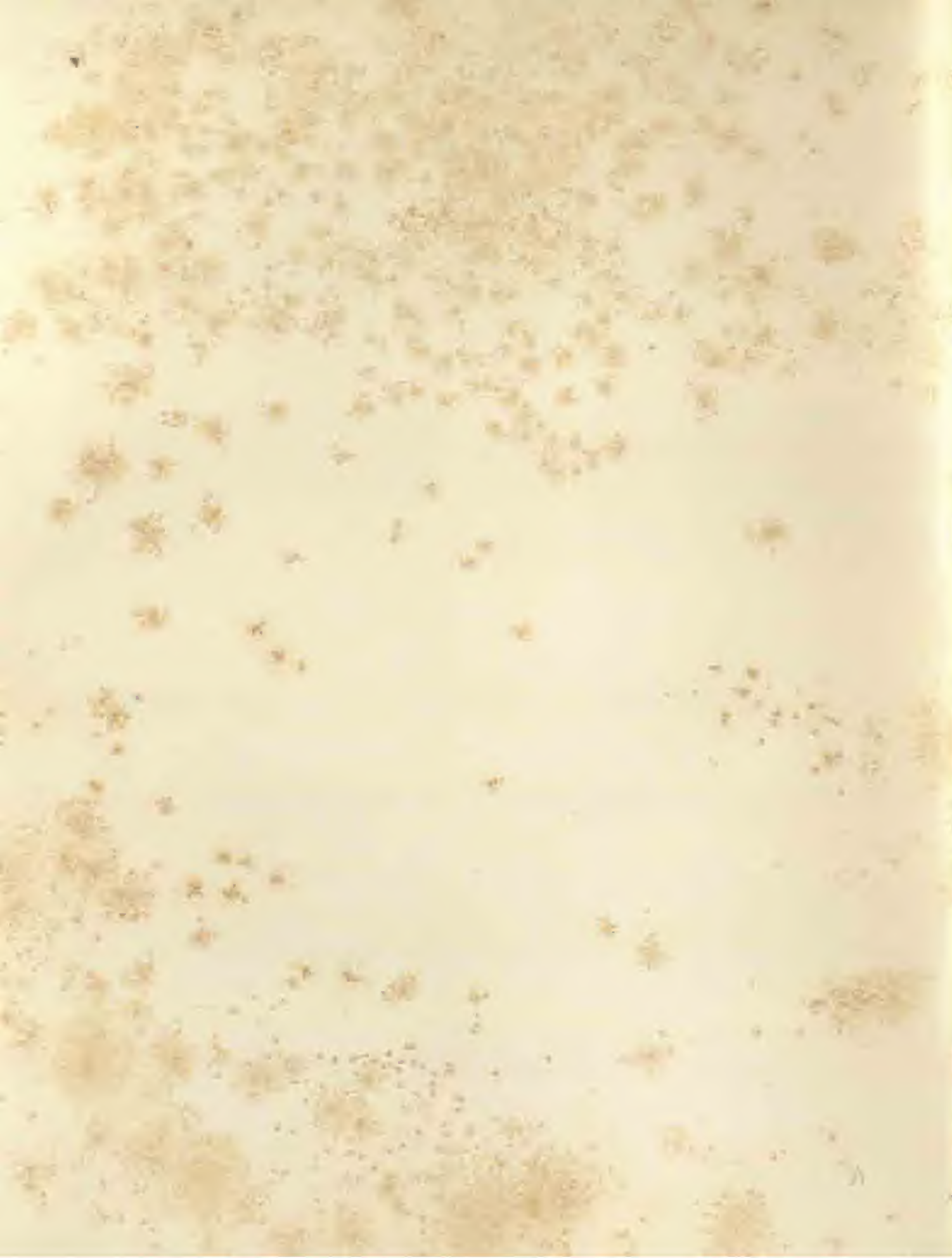






Fig. 1. Early Transparent Glass.



Fig. 2. Figure Vase.



Fig. 3. Two Types of Bügelkannen.

Late XVIIIth Dyn. Objects from Balabish.

Resemblances to modern Nubian or Sudanese work are seen in some of the sandals which are quite different from the New Kingdom types, and again in the leather fringes, while there is a resemblance to the work of the modern Bisharin in the use of lengths of finely cut leather for the threading of beads. A connection with the South seems probable from the presence of the beautiful little net bag of elephant's hair (Pl. XXV, fig. 1).

Of objects interesting in themselves apart from their value as showing cultural connections we may select for mention leather of fine quality dyed red, of which pieces were carefully stitched into large rugs or cloaks (?); a large bundle of leather with blue beads stitched on to it; raw hide wrist guards ornamented with tooled patterns, bundles of sinews, presumably bow-strings; kilts of leather pierced in an ornamental design (Pl. XXV, fig. 1); a prepared bull's skull spotted red and black as usual; bracelets of shell slips; and last but not least the beautiful red polished pottery either plain or with a rim of bright metallic black colour. Several pieces of this pottery show new details. We also got a large percentage of hard dull red ware of fine quality hatched over with fine ornamentation (Pl. XXV, fig. 2). All of this un-Egyptian pottery was of the open bowl type.

A word or two must be spared for the New Kingdom Cemetery, which gave us several fine false-necked amphorae or *bagelkannen* of the various types dated to the latter half of the XVIIIth dynasty (Pl. XXVI, fig. 3), and an alabaster figure vase in the shape of a woman (Pl. XXVI, fig. 2). These vases are also foreign in type but not necessarily in manufacture, and date to about the same period. Besides the usual foreign pottery some less known shapes, notably a set of great pottery barrels, came to light, but these perhaps represent a later burial. We found part of an interesting sandal on to which uppers had been sewn, with apparently laces for fastening them. Although this sandal had thus developed into a shoe its maker had not yet realized that the sandal strap was now unnecessary. It was therefore provided also. Another was interesting in that the careful Egyptian had provided an undersole or clump, separately stitched under the sandal and even its ankle-straps, to prevent them wearing. When worn out this clump could have been easily removed and replaced if so desired. We were also able to settle that the small penannular rings of uncertain use were earrings and not hair rings, as we found and have photographed one in place in the ear. Perhaps most interesting of all was the large ball bead made of dark-blue clear glass (Pl. XXVI, fig. 1). Occurring at this date it is one of the earliest specimens of transparent glass known, a substance always rare until much later times. It also sets at rest those doubts which have been expressed as to the possibility of the somewhat earlier specimen being actually of glass. We also found several more smaller beads of quite clear unmistakable glass with the air bubbles in it. The glass of these latter specimens was not perfectly colourless, but was slightly tinged with green. The mention of these must suffice for the present, and it is hoped to publish the results fully as soon as possible under existing circumstances.

## THE GREAT TOMB ROBBERIES OF THE RAMESSIDE AGE. PAPYRI MAYER A AND B

By T. ERIC PEET, B.A.

### II. PAPYRUS MAYER B.

PAPYRUS MAYER B has a much less imposing appearance than its fellow A, consisting as it does of a single sheet, 404 mm. by 256 mm. in size, inscribed on one side only. It is mounted on cloth under glass, and at first sight gives the impression of being in perfect preservation. In this, however, it is deceptive. There are several small but irritating gaps and numerous breaks, while more than one fragment has been mounted upside down. The most serious damage is the peculiar rubbing which has almost completely effaced a few signs at the end of nearly every line, making it difficult to seize the connexion between one line and the next. The difficulties reach a climax in the last five lines where they are enhanced by the occurrence of a large number of very rare words.

The document is certainly not complete as it stands. It begins in the middle of a sentence and has no satisfactory ending, and it is clear that these fourteen<sup>1</sup> lines are merely part of a larger report. They embody a portion of what is clearly the confession of one of the tomb-robbers, whose name is not given. Of the other names mentioned in the narrative none can be with certainty identified with any of those contained in the other documents concerning the robberies. The tomb attacked is apparently that of Amenhotep III, which is not mentioned elsewhere in the portions of the dossier which have survived. This fact and the absence of date on our papyrus make it impossible to bring the facts recorded in it into direct relation with those related by the Abbott, Amherst, Harris A or Mayer A papyri.

As far as can be inferred from the passage preserved the circumstances must have been as follows. The narrator has been concerned with another thief, almost certainly Neumamon, in the robbery of certain objects of copper and silver from a tomb, in all probability that of Amenhotep III. He complains that the other has not given him his share of the spoil, whereupon the silver is weighed, found to amount to 3 deben, and equally divided between the two thieves. From the absence of reference to a division of the copper it would seem that this had been fairly divided originally and that it is only in regard to the silver that the narrator complains.

<sup>1</sup> Two very small pieces of a fifteenth still remain on misplaced fragments.

The next event is a visit paid by a certain Pais to the house of Nesuamon, where he sees the stolen objects of silver and seizes them. It is from this that we may infer that Nesuamon was the thief with whom the narrator made the division of silver. Nesuamon at once sends for the narrator who arrives to find Pais demanding blackmail from Nesuamon on the threat of exposing the whole affair to the cemetery officials. He is, however, soothed with the promise that he shall be taken to the scene of the robbery and allowed to bring off more booty for himself. Here is a scene of 3000 years ago, yet it is being played over and over again by the Egyptians of our own days, with scarcely any new details save the coffee and cigarettes which are now the invariable concomitants of native discussion. Many a rich find has been rescued from thieves by the government as the result of a little drama of blackmail such as that narrated here.

In this case, however, the bribe offered seems to have been sufficiently large to prevent exposure. Together with two others, the reason for whose inclusion in the party is not clear, Pais is taken up by the two arch-conspirators to the tomb of Amenhetep III. After some discussion with regard to the *meskher*, the point of which is quite obscure, the tomb is opened and the thieves enter. The rest of the papyrus records what they found within. The booty consists of goods of two classes, objects of bronze or copper, and clothes.

The whole forms a delightfully vivid narrative which can only be compared for brightness with certain portions of the Abbott, and the despoiling of the two royal mummies in the Amherst papyri.

## TRANSLATION.

[.....]<sup>1</sup> 150 deben of copper. I quarrelled with him and I said to him, 'The division (?) thou hast made for me is not at all to my liking; thou hast taken three parts and hast given me one.' So said I to him. And we weighed the silver which we had found and it amounted to 3 deben of silver. He gave me 1 deben 5 kedet of silver and himself took 1 deben 5 kedet of silver; total [3 deben] of silver (?).

Now after some days the foreigner<sup>2</sup> Pais went to the house of the foreigner Nesuamon and found the things lying there and seized them. Thereupon the foreigner Nesuamon sent to me saying, 'Come! Now the foreigner Pais was sitting with him and the foreigner Pais said to him, 'With regard to the silver which thou didst find [.....] thou hast given me none of it. I am going to report it to the servants of the Prince of the West (?) and to the police.'<sup>3</sup> So said he to us. And we cajoled him and said to him, 'We will take thee (to) the place in which we found it (?), and thou too shalt bring away (some) for thyself.' So said we to him. Now after some days we made an agreement with the foreigner Pais and the metal-worker Pentahetnekhi and the metal-worker Heri and the foreigner Nesuamon, five men in all. We went up in a body (?), the foreigner Nesuamon leading us up. And he stopped [at] the tomb of

<sup>1</sup> Dots between square brackets denote a lacuna in the papyrus.

<sup>2</sup> For the title see GARDINER in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1915, pp. 117 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Literally to the Mazoi, the Nubian mercenaries used as police in Egypt.

<sup>4</sup> Read *lwn* (*lgy* < *r*) *ps* [*gm-n* < *l*] *lm*. Distinct traces of the *gm*-bird remain at the beginning of the lacuna.

<sup>5</sup> *m* *lm* *wt*.

King Nebmaatra Meryamon, the great god. We said to him, 'Where is the *meskher* who was with thee?' And he said to us, 'The *meskher* was killed together with Pabek the younger, who was with us and would not let us out.' So said he to us. And I spent four days in breaking into it (7)<sup>1</sup>, we being all five present (7). We opened the tomb and entered it. We found a basket (7)<sup>2</sup> lying there on three ..... a chest. We opened it and found [.....] of bronze and a ..... of copper and three wash-bowls of bronze, and a wash-bowl, a *ne*-vase and a beaker (7) of bronze, and two *kb*-vases of bronze, and two ..... vases of bronze, and a *kb*-vase [.....] of bronze, and three ..... vases of bronze, and eight ..... of copper and eight ..... vases of copper. And we weighed the copper of the vessels ..... and we found (it to be) [500 deben] of copper, 100 deben of copper falling to each man. We opened two chests full of garments; we found 35 ..... garments, [7 ..... garments] falling to each man. And we found a basket (7) of garments lying there; we opened it and found 25 ..... in it, 5 ..... falling [to each man .....].

<sup>1</sup> *nd* for 'tomb-maker (77)'. I can find out nothing with regard to the title.

<sup>2</sup> *hsh* for *h* here a *hsh* *hsh*. It is difficult to see the sense of *hsh* *hsh*. *hsh* is 'to demolish' or 'break open' but takes a direct object without *sa*. The only apparent antecedent to which the *f* in *hsh* can refer is *Nemnum*!

<sup>3</sup> *hsh*. Probably the same word as that written *hsh* below.

## THE NAME *OSIRIS*

By ORIC BATES

THE analysis of ancient divine names is so hazardous a matter that, in the absence of evidence other than that afforded by the name itself, it is generally best not to attempt it. When, however, secondary indications suggest a meaning of the name, and this meaning accords with the philological evidence, it is allowable to offer a conjecture. Such a conjecture I here venture to advance with regard to the name *Osiris*.

The evidence tending to prove that in his most important rôle, and indeed in his origin, *Osiris* was a spirit of vegetation, has steadily accumulated until it is now generally admitted as conclusive. Divinities of this nature, conceived as being repeatedly reborn, waxing old, and dying, are found among primitive agriculturalists all the world over. Further, the tendency to emphasize the importance of these gods at the time of the harvest, when they are thought of as dying, and when it is held necessary in most cases to perform various ceremonies to insure their rebirth, is equally widespread. Herein lies the explanation of the fact that in so many popular harvest rites the corn spirit is given some such name as "the old man," "the old woman," or, simply, "the old one!"

A few instances illustrative of this conception may be cited by way of example. Some of the Palestinian Arabs, when the harvest is nearly finished, bury a sheaf of wheat in an imitation grave with the words "The Old Man is dead," and a prayer that God may bring them again "the wheat of the dead!" Among the Hâha, south of Mogador, is held yearly an agricultural carnival. The central figure of this festival is a grotesque personage called Hâroma, "the Decrepit," or, more whimsically, Hôroma Guerga'a, "the Decrepit Dried Nut." The Shiâdmas, another tribe south of Mogador, have a similar carnival-figure called esh-Shiûkh, "the Little Old Man?" "The Grandmother" and "the Old Man" are also found in North Africa as terms for corn-spirits\*. Grotesque spirits of vegetation, named in a like manner, survive all over Europe, as

\* Agricultural spirits named "the old," "the ancient," etc., are to be distinguished from legendary "first men," who often receive similar titles—e.g. *Ukuluakulu*, "the Old, Old One" of the Zulu (A. LANG, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*,<sup>1</sup> London, 1906, vol. I, p. 103). The same caution applies to terms such as *al-Kadûs* vaguely used as a qualitative of Allah in some of the Arabic lists (e.g. in that of Ibn Mâga, *Sânusi*, Cairo, A.D. 1313, vol. II, pp. 225-6).








<sup>1</sup> A. JAMES, *Customs Arabs in the Roman Provinces*, Apr. 1, 1903, p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> E. DOCTÈRE, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers, 1906, p. 500 sq.


<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 515.

among the Bulgarians, in whose agricultural masquerades the leading rôle is that of the *Baba* or "Old Woman". The same conception is known also in the New World.

The evidence of which I have just cited a few examples, when taken as a whole, clearly shows that of all the names applied by primitive peoples to their vegetation-daemons, the large majority of those of which the meaning is clear express the idea of old. This ought to incline us to regard favourably any reasonable analysis of the name *Osiris* which would explain the word as meaning "old," "ancient," or "decrepit." No such interpretation appears among the many which have been put forward, nor have the suggestions of philologists who give other meanings to the name proved acceptable. The modern explanations have been regarded as no more satisfactory than that offered by Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch, who interpreted *Ὀσίρις* as *πολύφθαλμος*<sup>1</sup>, or than those of other classical writers.

The oldest forms of the name *Osiris* are , , , , etc., with the value of *isr*. Later, the initial element appears as *w*, and we have such forms as , *wsir*, , *wsr*, , *wsry*, etc., Copt. *osirp*, Gr. *Ὀσίρις*<sup>2</sup>. The later forms indicate that the weak *i* of the older ones was vocalized in some manner which suggested a *u*-sound.

As already remarked, no attempt to analyze the name *Osiris* by means of Egyptian has thus far met with success. This is very possibly due to the inherent difficulty of all such problems, but it is also possible that the obduracy of the name may be due to quite another cause—to the fact that it is of foreign origin and not Egyptian at all. In the face of this possibility, we must consider the name in the light of what we know of the languages of the neighbouring peoples. If one regards it as of possible Libyan origin, an explanation of some interest soon presents itself. The prevalence of such names as "the Old One," etc. for divinities of the type of *Osiris* has been pointed out. The Berber radical embodying this idea is the trilateral *W S R*, as seen for example in *tasri*, "old" (Gebel Nafûsa), *user*, "to grow old," *tusr*, "old," *masur*, "an old man" (Waigla), etc.

Philologically, at least, it appears that there is no difficulty in relating this widespread radical to the old divine name. The *W* would have had a history comparable to that of the Coptic *av* or the Ptolemaic .

In 1900 Professor Petrie boldly asserted that *Osiris* was a Libyan god<sup>3</sup>. I do not feel that the time has even yet arrived when such a statement can be made without reserve, but I venture to suggest that, if the derivation of the name advanced above be valid, we are a step nearer the solution of one of the prime problems of Egyptian religion.

<sup>1</sup> J. (I. FRASER, *The Golden Bough*,<sup>2</sup> Pt. v, vol. II, London, 1912, p. 332 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. MOONEY, *Myths of the Cherokee*, in *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1900, p. 423 sq.

<sup>3</sup> DIODORUS SICULUS, i, § 11 (p. 10); PLUTARCH, *De Osiride et Iside*, § 10. The adjective was considered apt, since the "many eyes" were taken to be the rays of the sun, with which *Osiris* was strongly identified.

<sup>4</sup> For the onomasticum of *Osiris* see LAFLEUR, *Le Mythe Osirien*, Paris, 1875, p. 131, and A. ERMAN, in *A. Z.*, vol. 10 (1910), p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> W. M. F. PETRIE, *Egypt Exploration Fund Memoir, Royal Tombs, etc., Part I*, London, 1900, p. 36.

## NOTES ON HEBREW PAPYRUS FRAGMENTS FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

By A. E. COWLEY, D.LITT.

IN the excavations conducted for the Fund at Oxyrhynchus in 1905 by Dr Grenfell and Dr Hunt a number of fragments of papyrus bearing Hebrew, and some Syriac, writing, were found together with the Greek documents. These have now been presented to the Bodleian Library and are referenced as MSS. Heb. c. 57 (P), d. 83 (P)—89 (P), e. 111 (P)—113 (P) [and MSS. Syr. d. 13 (P), 14 (P) with which Professor Margolionth will deal]. Unfortunately they are all so small or so much broken that very little can be gained from their contents. On the other hand their palaeographical interest is considerable, because on several of the pieces the writing is very clear, and the circumstances under which they were found enable us to date them with some degree of certainty.

Hebrew palaeography is not, and perhaps never will be, as well understood as Greek. We know, and to some extent can date, the various stages of the 'Phœnician' alphabet as found on monuments from the ninth century B.C. onwards. We have recently learnt more about the 'Aramaic' alphabet from the fifth to the third century B.C., but as to the development of the later Hebrew writing from that Aramaic hand there is almost a blank for the next 1000 years. We have, it is true, certain gems and coins, ossuaries and tombstones, but few of them can be dated with certainty, and all present the monumental character, which is very different from the literary or scribal hand. We have no scribal remains (which would almost certainly be on papyrus) after the third century B.C. until the Nash papyrus, perhaps of the second century A.D.

Hebrew papyri hitherto published are as follows:

12 fragments at Berlin, edited by Steinschneider in the *Zeitschrift für Aegypt. Spr.* 1879 p. 93+, and Taf. vii. He considers them to be of the eighth century.

A few fragments out of many belonging to the Rainer collection, edited by D. H. Müller and Kaufmann in the *Mittheilungen aus d. Sammlung d. Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, vol. I, p. 38+ (1887). They are transcribed, but no facsimiles are given and no date is assigned to them. The article is therefore of no use palaeographically.

The 'Nash papyrus' first published by S. A. Cook (*P.S.B.A.* 1903, p. 34+) who ascribes it (p. 51) to the first quarter of the second century A.D. It was afterwards republished in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. XV, p. 392+ by Burkitt, who assigns

it to about the middle of the first century A.D. The facsimile is in both cases due to Burkitt's skill.

See also Cook's references, *loc. cit.*, p. 34, note 3.

Seven fragments in the Bodleian Library, edited with facsimiles in *J.Q.R.* XVI, p. 1+, of about the sixth century A.D. These may be classed as Hebrew (or Jewish) in writing though two are in Aramaic and one in Arabic.

The present fragments are therefore particularly welcome in spite of their broken condition. Only the best preserved pieces are reproduced in the facsimiles (Plates XXVII—XXIX). Dr Hunt, who most kindly helped in arranging them, tells me that all came from the same mound, and were found together with Greek papyri of the third to the fifth century. As a rule the writing seems to point rather to the later limit, say about 400 A.D. Taking the plates in order, I will transcribe what is legible and add a few notes on each piece. I have made no great efforts at restoration since for the present purpose only what is certainly visible is important.

Plate XXVII (MS. Heb. a. 57 (P)).

- (a)
- |    |                          |
|----|--------------------------|
| 1. | מן ראשי הכנסת וזמן אחיכם |
| 2. | בני הכנסת שבמצרים לרבנו  |
| 3. | אניבה ראש הכנסת          |
| 4. | ולוקני הכנסת ולוכל       |
| 5. | הקהל הקדוש שוב           |
| 6. | תפלינו לחייכן תהיינה     |
| 7. | ולשלום בניכן ובתיכן      |
| 8. | ושירותי המצוות...        |

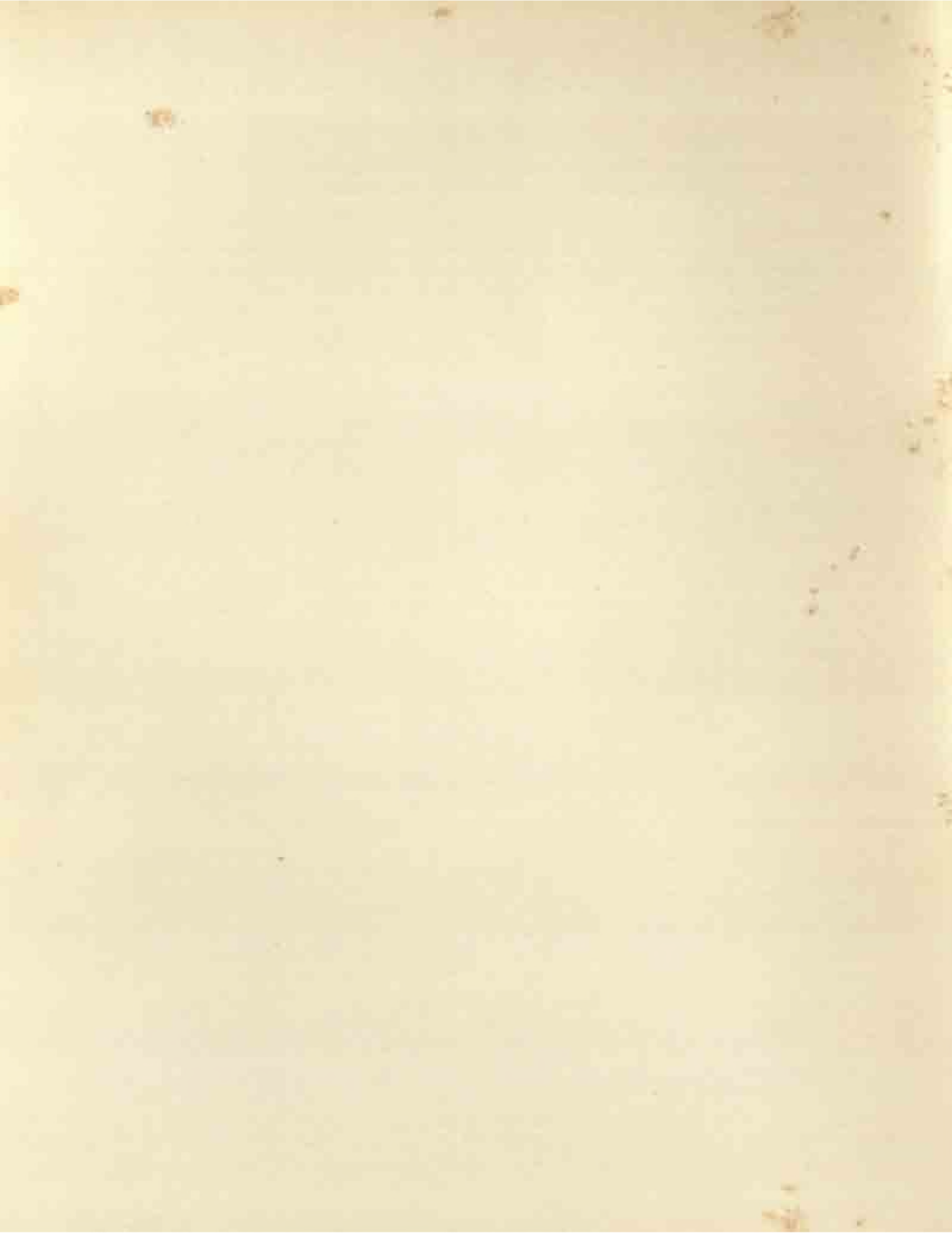
\* \* \* \*

From the heads of the synagogue [and from your brethren] the members of the synagogue which is in Egypt to our master] A... the head of the synag[ogue...] and to the elders of the synagogue and to [all our brethren] the holy congregation which [is in...]. Our prayers shall [be] for your life and for the welfare of your sons and [your] households... And the service of the commandments...

The beginning of an official letter. Nothing is wanting on the right hand side; on the left probably one third of the width is lost. Line 2 [מצרים], if right, probably means Postât, but it may be some other place-name beginning with ב. L. 3, the second letter is probably a ב like that in l. 1, not a ז, which would have a more decided fork at this date. The projection at the back is really the foot of the א. But no such name is known to me. L. 5, some form of the Coptic Pemje (= Oxyrhynchus) may have stood at the end. L. 8 שירות seems to be the only possible reading. There were originally 24 lines, but of the rest only disconnected words and letters remain. Among them are the names יוסה (as in *J.Q.R.* XVI, p. 4, no. 4, l. 4) and שמואל. The last line begins כתבת, and the end of the papyrus is blank. On the verso are a few letters, perhaps the remains of an address(?).



Hebrew papyri from Oxyrhynchus.



The writing is clear and bold, a good example of a professional hand of say 400 A.D. Note the **א** (especially in **ראש** l. 3) with the middle stroke nearly upright; **ד** only occurs certainly in l. 5, **דקרוש**, where the papyrus is damaged: if it is to be read in the broken line below (**הועיר**) it is clearly distinguished from **ד**; the **ה** is closed, and is only distinguished from **ח** (once, l. 6, **לחייכן**) by a small horn on the top left, while **ח** seems to have it on the top right; **נ**, **ן** has an unusual projection on the right at the top, and this seems to be a trick of the particular scribe (note **נ**, **כ**, l. 5); **ק** has a very small head, as on the ossuaries; **ש** has the inside stroke nearly in the middle and disconnected; **ת** has almost the modern form, but the left-hand stroke is always disconnected. Quite modern are **ב**, **ד**, **ה**, **י**, **כ**, **ל**, **ם** (both much later than in the Nash papyrus), **ס**, **פ**, **ע**, **ר**. There are no instances of **ג** (probably), **ט**, **ך**, **ף**, **ץ**, and only a broken **ע**.

(b) חלבי אילים  
 אם ושעיר עזים  
 ועי שפני דשן  
 אלי שמן

Ends of lines. There are traces of letters after a space (a **ל** after **עזים** seems to be erased) so that the text was in columns. It is probably part of a hymn, with a reminiscence (as Mr L. Abrahams pointed out to me) of Micah 6<sup>7</sup>, but we cannot read **אלפי** for **חלבי**, nor **נחלי** in l. 4. The lines seem to show a rudimen-

tary rhyme. If so, the fragment is important as evidence of the use of rhyme at such an early date. The rhyme may however be accidental, and it is unsafe to base any conclusions on so small a fragment unless we can identify the hymn to which it belongs. (Steinschneider's no. 1 is also rhymed.)

The writing is probably of about the same date as that of *a*, but **א** is more modern, **י** is exaggerated, **ל** has a very small hook and is above the line, **ס** is slightly more archaic, the curious form of **ם** is apparently intentional as it occurs three times, **ע** is interesting because its tail seems to have been added as an afterthought, as though the writer more naturally used the older form.

(c) לפני י' תתדרו  
 ודשם מפורשן  
 אם על חן  
 ואו לו להתדרות  
 וא שני נורלות  
 ועליו הנורל לו

Beginnings and ends of the lines are lost. The fragment clearly has something to do with Mishna Yoma. The first line (Lev. 16<sup>10</sup>) occurs in Yoma iii, 8, and the **שני נורלות** (Lev. 16<sup>11,12</sup>) are mentioned in iii, 9, iv, 1. Mr Abrahams suggests that it may be from an early 'Abhoda (liturgy for the Day of Atonement).

Line 1 is no doubt to be so read, but the **נ** is very unusual, quite unlike that in l. 5, which is regular. Unfortunately the abbreviation of **ידוע** is obliterated. It may have been a single ' with a line below. The **ט** is broken, but seems to be of a modern type. L. 4

להתדר, if the fourth letter is **י** it is like the second **י** in **נורלות** l. 5, which is quite different from the other **י**'s in ll. 4, 5, but it is more like the **נ** in **לפני** l. 1. **להתדרות** suits the context. In l. 6 the last word must be **לני** or **לעזאול** (Lev. 16<sup>10</sup>). The

writing (like that of *b*) is much less skilful than that of *a*, and the scribe is inconsistent. The **ס**, judging from traces in ll. 4, 5, is smaller than in *a* and *b*; the **ש** is more modern, the **ד** slightly more archaic; but on the whole the date seems to be about the same as that of *a*.

Plate XXVIII (MS. Heb. d. 83 (P)).

(a) ה' שורה דיון נדחת

סרחין משבע : לך

בבבה דענה ראבה

חדה הנפל בנא

ראיתו אבד

אאך בלכתא חנא

לה לכלבה דנכת לפל

דורה שנה

אאן

\* \* \*

(b) מן אושיא בן יוצחק

קראום לראשי הננסת

זוח ולפרוסטטין

מקום בעלי שם

זוח תל

Lines 3—9 are complete at the beginning, and very little is lost elsewhere, but the reading is very uncertain and the meaning more so. The hand is of the same school and date as Pl. XXVII (a)—note especially **נ** and **י**—but it is very unskilful. Note especially **י** l. 1, where **י** has been corrected to **י**; the **ע** in l. 2 compared with that in **דענה** l. 3 (where one would take it for **ד** but for the preceding **בבבה**); **בלכתא** l. 6 for **בכלכתא**. The writing is in fact too careless to have much palaeographical value.

The beginning of a letter incomplete on both sides. Line 1 **אושעא-אוישיא**. L. 3 **פרוסטטין** = *πρόσταται* is a new word, no doubt equivalent to **פרנסין**.

A nicely written piece, and curiously modern in general appearance, but not much later than the preceding pieces. The **ל** is clumsy; the **ד** is closed, but still long and narrow as in early hands;

the **ש** has the inside stroke joined on to the side. In l. 4 the writer began to make a **ב**, and then turned it into a **ש**, hence the strange form.

(c) Ends of lines, too much injured to be copied. The few letters visible are curiously modern: note **ב**, **ת**. The **ס** is small as in Pl. XXVII c. The **ה** is closed.

All blank on the verso.

Plate XXIX (MS. Heb. d. 86 (P)).

(a).

.....  
ος (= ὡς) πρόκειται ἀνὴρ ἑλλας σαμουήλ

שהת

זכי כהנה

גיהון ממו

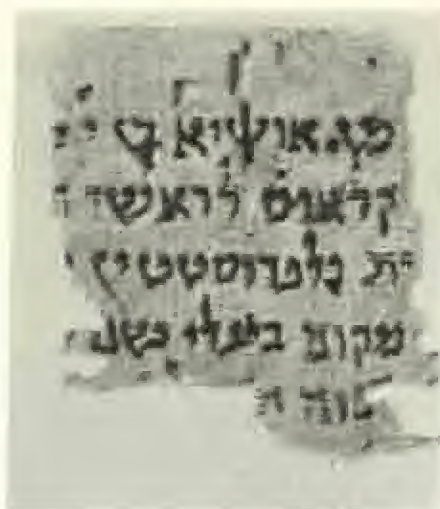
The end of a Greek document, for which ὡς πρόκειται 'as aforesaid' is a common formula. The name Aurelius becomes frequent after the great extension of Roman citizenship by Caracalla. The Greek writing however is much later than that, possibly,



a



c

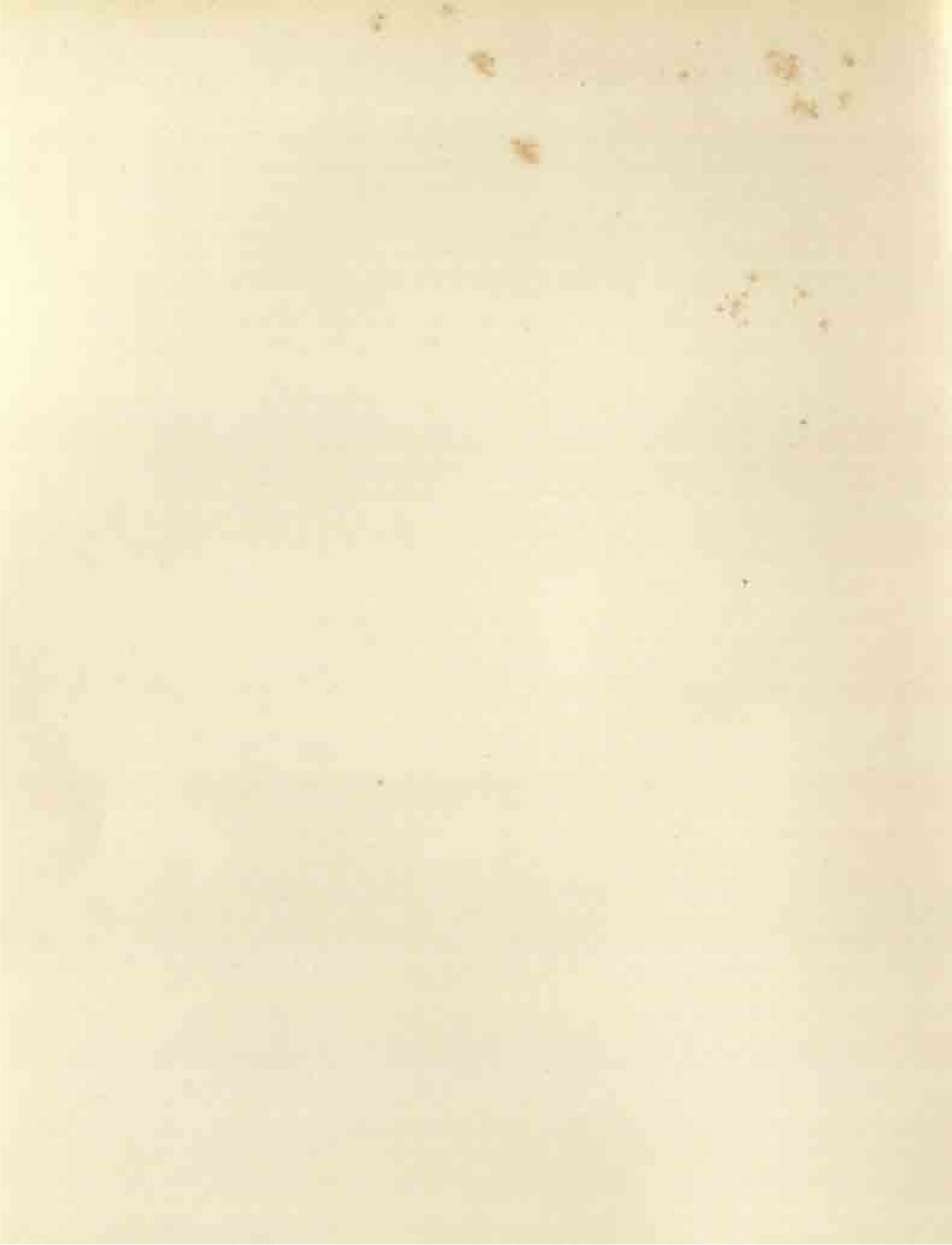


b





Hebrew papyri from Oxyrhynchus.



Dr Hunt says, as late as the fifth century. The Hebrew, which is no doubt the signature of the Jewish witness Samuel, agrees with this. It is distinctly later than Pl. XXVII a, though some of the differences may be due to want of skill in the writer. The exaggerated backward turn at the top of the ך and ך show the same school as Pl. XXVII a, but the ך is now open, the ך has its middle stroke joined and more pronounced, and the ך is perhaps more modern.

(e)

אֶת  
אֲנִי הוּא  
אֶתְחַסֵּף  
אֶתְחַסֵּף  
אֶתְחַסֵּף  
אֶתְחַסֵּף  
אֶתְחַסֵּף

Lines defective at the beginning and some of them slightly so at the end. A good hand, not later than Pl. XXVII a. Note א. ך (but more open), ך, ך and the small-headed ך. The ך in l. 6 is like that in Pl. XXVIII a, l. 3.

The other pieces on this plate are too small to be of any value.

To sum up, we have in these fragments, specimens of Hebrew writing by various hands, from the same school (in Egypt) and of approximately the same date, which may be put with some assurance at about 400 A.D. and one piece perhaps fifty years later.

The Syriac, which is all of one period, if not by the same hand, is somewhat earlier than the Hebrew. In Plate XXXI the long strip has on the reverse some Greek which Dr Hunt assigns to the fourth century, and the Syriac, being on the obverse, is earlier than this. The piece at the top of the plate has some Greek of the third century. The Syriac is therefore probably of the third century. Since, as Prof. Margolionth recognised (see below), it is in a Manichaean hand, and Manes died in 276, it cannot be earlier.


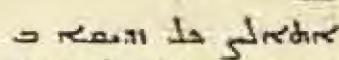
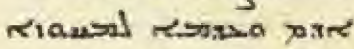
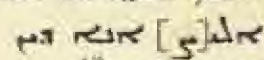
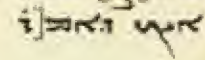

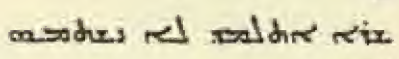






Syriac papyri from Oxyrhynchus.




3. Strip of  $6 \times 6.5$  with blank margin  $14 \times 5$ : fragments of nine lines.

1.  1.  
 2.  2.  
 3.  3.  
 4.  4.  
 5.  5.  
 6.  6.  
 7.  7.  
 8.  8.  
 9.  9.

1. *every*  
 2. *there was afflicted every righteous man in*  
 3. *Adam (f) even unto Muchaza*  
 4. *oppressed; but I say*  
 5. *even as saith*  
 6.  
 7. *being loose was stuck together shall not be called*  
 8. *spirit*  
 9. *to thee*

This appears to be a fragment of a homily; the quotation in l. 7 probably comes from some philosophical work, similar to Aristotle, *Physics* v. § 3, where such terms as *συνεχές* and *ἀπρόσπερον* are explained.



(ii) (MS. Syr. d. 13 (P)). Plate XXXI.

1. Strip  $15 \times 4$  containing a few letters, wherein the word  *hands* can be distinguished. Also some Coptic letters.

2. Strip  $4.5 \times 3$ .



  
*our stain??*

3. Strip  $6 \times 5$ . Fragments of two lines.

(?)  1.  
 2.

1. *commanded*  
 2. *thou?*

4. Fragment  $3 \times 4$ .

 1.  
 2.

5. Strip 11 x 9 containing fragments of two columns.

אנשי . אנשי  
אנשי אנשי  
אנשי אנשי

אנשי 1.

אנשי 2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

אנשי אנשי

אנשי אנשי 10.

אנשי אנשי אנשי 11.

אנשי אנשי אנשי 12.

Right-hand column:

1. to men
2. of princes
10. if thou art my beloved
11. this I fear to utter
12. and I make bold

Left-hand column:

1. that it should cloud over. If
2. who shall be built unto
3. didst let me go
9. this we sent

6. Fragment 5 x 2.

אנשי 1.

אנשי אנשי 2.

אנשי אנשי אנשי 3.

1. and ye
2. a despised Cappadocian
3. -ly brave!

7. Strip 11 x 25.

אנשי 1.

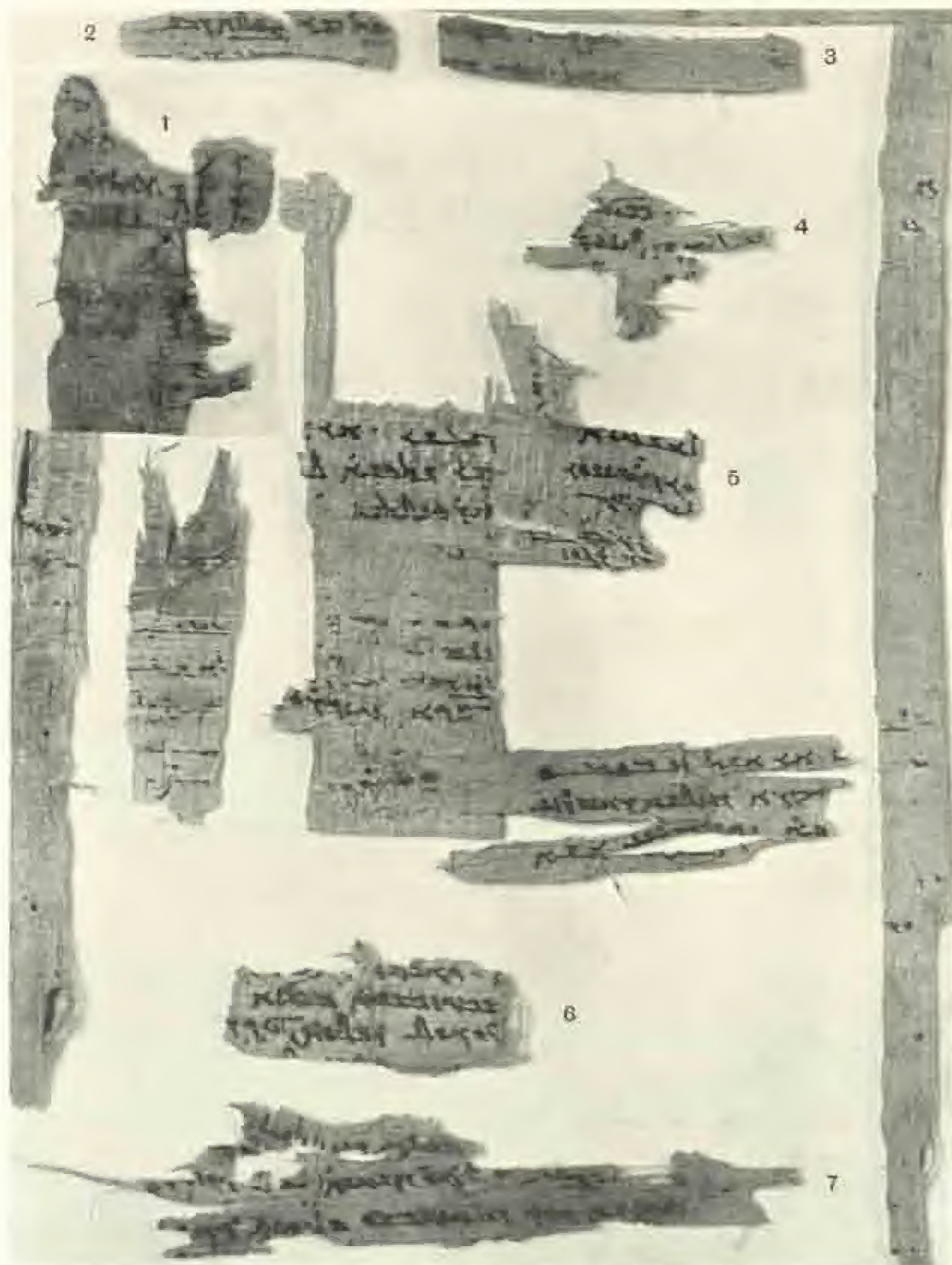
אנשי 2.

אנשי אנשי אנשי אנשי אנשי 3.

1. wherewith!

2. men

3. that boot which is in our market tamed ..



*Syriac papyri from Oxyrhynchus.*



## THE SCARAB COLLECTION OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

By ALICE GRENFELL




THIS Collection was bequeathed to Queen's College by a former Commoner of the College, Dr Robert Mason, son of Robert Mason of Hurley, Berks, miller. His father asked him, when he was a boy, what he would like to be. Young Mason replied he must take two days to consider. He then said he would like to be a gentleman. "Then," said his father, "you must go to College." So to College he went, and matriculated at St Edmund's Hall in 1807, aged 23. He came on to Queen's and took his B.A. in 1810; M.A. 1813; D.D. 1823. He died at Hurley Jan. 1841.





Dr Mason left £30,000 to Queen's College (also £40,000 to the Bodleian library) for the purchase of books.

Besides his scarabs, Egyptian papyri, stela, beads, ushabtis, Canopic and other jars and vases, Dr Mason gave to Queen's College several rare amulets, especially a unique one of Hapi the Nile-god made of balance with woman-breasts to represent fertility (all were given to Queen's), as well as his Greek and Roman antiquities and a volume of beautifully executed plates of Etruscan vases. The Egyptian antiquities were formerly, as far as is known, the property of G. Belzoni, one of the earliest Egyptologists, and a friend of Dr Mason's, who unfortunately died in West Africa at the age of 45 in 1823.


The figures in brackets (1) refer to the scarabs drawn on the three plates. An asterisk is placed before the illustrative scarabs which do not belong to Queen's.


The ten symbols for the Deceased Perian which are used on Queen's College scarabs, and on the illustrative scarabs, are:

 *nefer*;  Ka *nefer* (Deceased's Ka);  *nefer* with Ra-sign over it.

 *sakh*;  *sakh* enclosed in oval;  *hes*;  *κ*, contraction of *hes*.

 Glorified One or Beatified Deceased.

 *Kheper* (Son) of Deceased.

 man (Deceased) holding giant lotus. There are other signs for Deceased not used in the Collection.

*Chief classes of scarabs dealt with in this article:*



1. Minoan (?) and other scripts (?).



2. Volute scarabs.



3. Tied lotus, Ka, ankh.



4. Kheper scarabs.



5. Hand scarabs.



6. Sportive scarabs.



7. Horus and Set scarabs.



8. Ram's Head scarabs.



9. Apis signus scarabs.

*Other classes, only examined cursorily:*

- a. Nub-Dad-Ra.
- b. Lion scarabs.
- c. Syrian Horse scarabs.
- d. Royal scarab.
- e. Private names.
- f. Ra in his Boat.
- g. Protected Nefers and Ankhs, etc.
- h. Deities.
- i. Uzat scarabs.

*Two Chinamen visiting Europe went to the theatre for the first time. One occupied himself with understanding the mechanism of the scenery, in which he succeeded; the other, in spite of his ignorance of the language, tried to find out the meaning of the piece.*

*This apologue shows the difference between science and religion. The meaning of the piece is what is aimed at in this article.*

Queen's College has very few worthless scarabs. All can be deciphered except (83A), (126), (185A), (204). In publishing the whole of a Collection of scarabs, scaraboids, cowroids, plaques, seals, inscribed amulets, etc., of 200 or more specimens, it is rare to find even a quarter of them of much interest or value; *apparently*, that is to say, for nothing is worthless to those who know. More knowledge will frequently turn a seemingly useless scarab into a great rarity which supplies important evidence to interpretation, though it is impossible to be aware beforehand of the kind of information needed to produce this desirable result.

Queen's College has no very uncommon, or even rather uncommon deities on its scarabs, but only Amen, Amen-Ra, Ptah, Thoth, Hat-hor, Thoueris, Horus, Set, Bes, Mut, Maat, Ra, Bast, Horus of Behudet, and several uræus goddesses which are all frequently to be met with. The somewhat rare, or very rare deities, Serq, Rannat, Neith, Khonsu, Apuat, Menthu, Sebek, Isis (except as an attendant uræus), An, Hapi, Shu, Nubt, a funerary form of Hathor, Tum, Ba-neb-Dad, Set-nubti, Osiris Ptah-Hapi, Horus-Anubis, Amen-Khaum, Amen-Khepera and other fused gods, all of which are to be found on scarabs, are absent from the Queen's College Collection. Osiris is hardly ever figured on scarabs as a man. I can only recall one such scarab in the British Museum, where he appears in his tall white cap with ostrich feathers, swathed as a mummy, with crook and flail, Isis and Nephthys on each side of him<sup>1</sup>. Perhaps the ancient Egyptians preferred to ask favours from a minor deity who would be more at leisure to listen to their wants. The Eastern Potentate has always had a retinue of servants and ministers, being too grand to act himself. But Osiris as a Dad sign is not very uncommon. Queen's College has four examples, (107), (124), (125), (145). In (125) and (145) the two uræi are Isis and Nephthys.


#### I. MINOAN (?) AND OTHER SCRIPTS ON SCARABS (?)

A few scarabs, scaraboids, etc., in museums and collections are covered with unknown scripts. Sometimes Egyptian hieroglyphs seem to be mingled with them. No one has worked at them, for scarabs have been despised and neglected. The class is so rare as to be easily overlooked, and the greatest public collections, such as those of Cairo Museum and the British Museum, are without them (as far as I know).

Dorow and Klaproth in *Antiquités Égyptiennes* give several examples, but without knowing that these scarabs contain writing. Vienna Museum also has some obviously unknown script on its scarabs. There is a very fine example in the Antiquarium, Munich, and one in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. But the Hilton Price Collection, sold and dispersed in 1911, contained the best specimen of such scripts, a perfectly unique carnelian scaraboid which had two rows of what must probably be regarded as Minoan writing (1), strongly resembling that on the clay bar, P. 104<sup>a</sup>, page 172 in Vol. I of *Scripta Minoa*, 1909, by Sir Arthur Evans (2). The Antiquarium scarab above mentioned (3) has three Minoan characters on it which are also to be seen on the fourth line of a tablet found by the Italians at Haghia Triada, near Phaestos, Crato (4).


<sup>1</sup> There is also a white steatite scarab in the Ashmolean Museum with (apparently) Osiris, Isis and Horus.

It will be noticed that there is a curious Anubis-shaped animal with head turned back on both the Munich specimen and in the fourth line of the Haghia Triada tablet. It is in the attitude of the jackal on the boat-hotep-Amen (or Ra) scarabs (5).

Queen's College has two rare Minoan (?) scarabs (6) and (7). One of these has the same animal with head turned back, and both have the knobbed St Andrew's cross, two distinctly Minoan characters, the knobbed cross being found on the above-mentioned clay bar (2). The meter hieroglyph  on (7) is also a Minoan (?) sign. (8) is a scarab from Vienna Museum with Berber writing, the same characters being found on the ancient rock inscription of Ifir'a, near Bougie, Algiers, and on a stele at Cheffia, Algeria. (9), Vienna Museum, has two characters almost exactly similar to two on an Egyptian ostrakon of the nineteenth Dynasty (1328-1205 B.C.) figured by Professor Petrie in *The Formation of the Alphabet*, 1910, (10). The Fitzwilliam Museum has a curious angular script on one of its scarabs (11), and similar linear writing is given by Dorow and Klaproth No. 1405, *Antiquités Égyptiennes* (12). Vienna has a scarab with two Cypriote signs on it (13), D. and K. have the same.

Small geometric scarabs occasionally have the Minoan cross with variations, (14) and (15). These specimens are from Queen's, one of blue glass, the other of apple green pottery. Biella Museum, Piedmont, has a clearer example, (16). This cross is also found on the back of two *usats* in the Ashmolean Museum whose provenance is probably the Delta.

## II. VOLUTE SCARABS.

The Volute of all the spirals, meanders and scrolls, which appear mostly on Middle Kingdom scarabs is one of the chief unexplained amulets, as can be seen from numerous examples of its being used quite differently from the other spirals. Thus we find it with a Glorified One (20) in the Ashmolean Museum; also over the symbol of North and South Egypt united by the 'sam' amulet (21) Petrie, *Denderah*; with Thoneris and the 'sa' (fluid of life) guarding  (22) Rose Collection; on a Middle Kingdom official scarab at Turin Museum published by Petrie in his *Historical Scarabs*, No. 473.








What is noticeable is the frequency of the volute with scarabs connected with the Deceased. Therefore in some way this amulet must have been efficacious in the interest of the Deceased. We find two volutes underneath the Ka nefer (23) Cairo Museum; four volutes round the Kheper and two Ra-signs, Queen's College (24), the Kheper (beetle) evidently here meaning the Soul of Deceased; two volutes with the hes in the middle (25) Blanchard Collection; two volutes with the nefer having the Ra-sign over it to indicate a heavenly Deceased One (26) also Blanchard Collection; one volute between 2 aukhs in ovals (28), *Description de l'Égypte*. A rare and most valuable scarab in the Fitzwilliam Museum reads *Ra the Golden one is Lord of the Volute*. It may be of interest to note that the celebrated Minoan sarcophagus from Haghia Triada is decorated with volutes, either as an ornament or an amulet.






Scarabs: Queen's College, Oxford.










Thus the volute accompanies





1. The Glorified as a Horus bird with uræus from his foot .
2. The ankh .
3. The Ka nefer .
4. The Kheper .
5. The hes .
6. The nefer with Ra-sign over it .
7. The ankh in an oval , all these being symbols of a Deceased Person.

The one intensely interesting divine Being to the ancient Egyptians who overshadows other figures on most of their mythological scarabs is the Deceased Person, whom they often call the *Glorified One*. He takes precedence on scarabs of all other sacred entities in the Egyptian Pantheon.

Thousands of examples represent the Deceased under his symbols , , ,

, , , , , , etc. The Deceased is also figured as a Horus-bird

with Ra-signs and a uræus springing out of his foot  (115), Plate XXXIII. In my article *The Ka on Scarabs* published in Vol. XXXVII of the *Recueil de Travaux*, etc., 1915, a Leiden marble amulet and a passage in the papyrus of Ani are compared.

The Leiden amulet has  for the Deceased, and the papyrus of Ani has    neteru.

The Deceased is rarely figured as an Aakhu bird (172), Plate XXXIV, masculine, and (173), feminine, British Museum. This latter bird is more archaic and is to be found on prehistoric cylinder-seals, as is shown by Professor Petrie in his article *The Earliest Inscriptions in Ancient Egypt*, April 1914.

### III. THE TIED LOTUS, KA AND ANKH.

Queen's College has a volute in company with another unexplained symbol, the tied lotus (29), of which there are four other specimens (30), (31), (32), (33). We also find two tied Kas; one is on a cartouche amulet which is engraved on both sides (34), the other is on a Middle Kingdom scarab of Antef V (63 A). The reverse of the cartouche has the Ra-n-Ra *Ra proceeding from Ra* sacred formula so much used in

the Hyksos period. Queen's has two more examples of this formula (35) and (36). Lastly the College has a scarab of an ankh tied to two Uas sceptres (37). In the Chicago Art Institute two Uas sceptres are protecting hes (39). It will be noticed that (30) and (43) are the same design, but (30) has two tied buds.

Small lotus scarabs with or without meanders, etc., are very common. Queen's has six such specimens (38), (40), (41), (43), (44), (45); also a large lotus scarab with two deities supporting a large lotus-flower (42). I have described the different varieties of Lotus scarabs in the *Recueil de Travaux*, etc., 1910, *The Rarer Scarabs of the New Kingdom*.

#### IV. KHEPER SCARABS.




'Kheper' is used in three different senses on scarabs:

1. As meaning the god Khepera: (56) Bower Collection, *May Deceased rest like Khepera for ever, and may Ra give him the 'sa.'*

2. In its original meaning of 'becoming' and so expressing the transformations of Deceased: (57) Macgregor Collection, *In his transformations may (Deceased) circle round the roads of Bubastis.*

3. As the soul of Deceased mounting to Ra, depicted on the hypocephalus amulet (55) where the soul is rising above its coffin to go to Ra. The hieroglyph 'Ba' = soul is written behind him. Queen's has no example of usages 1 and 2, both very rare, but has four examples of usage 3 (51), (52), (53), (54). The Mant feathers and uraei heraldically placed on either side of the Kheper represent Isis and Nephthys.

Three interesting and very rare scarabs, (58) and (59) both from *Antiquités Égyptiennes* and (60) Robertson Collection, represent the soul between two divinities who are in the various postures of sitting, standing and kneeling, and evidently performing a ritual action to aid the soul to fly to Ra. In (58) the Deceased is figured as a  hes, and the escaping soul has outspread wings.

#### V. HAND SCARABS.

These are fairly common either alone, or often associated with Bes, a crocodile, and sometimes an ox-head in addition. This last arrangement was a powerful protective amulet against the crocodile.

(62) has a lion over the crocodile and a hand. The lion is the king, who is constantly figured under this symbol.

On a scarab in the Hilton Price collection (63) the king is standing over his fallen enemy.

The outstretched hand is one of the most archaic symbols of power. It is to be found on ancient cylinder-seals. It was especially used by the Carthaginians on their stelae.

## VI. SPORTIVE SCARABS.

These are uncommon. Of gods Bes, always more or less grotesque, is singled out for 'sportive' treatment (99) and (101). In (101) we see that the head of Bes is dropped down into his body and his ears are sticking out from his sides. The tail of animals is particularly liable to be played with, and becomes

1. A maat feather (100).
2. A uræus (104).
3. A lotus (102).
4. A 'sa' (103).

## VII. HORUS AND SET SCARABS.

Queen's College has four specimens of the rare and interesting Horus and Set variety. Three are scarabs, (158), (159), (160), and one is a beautiful blue pottery seal of careful workmanship (161). Two of these examples represent Horus and Set walking hand in hand, and the other two show Horus with Set, the latter now changed into a large uræus erect serpent wearing the Atef crown (161), or the double crown of Egypt (158).

This is the first time I have noticed an erect uræus symbolizing a male deity, for it is usually kept exclusively for goddesses. There can however be no doubt that this uræus is a god and not a goddess, for on a unique scarab figured in the *Description de l'Égypte* he wears the long pigtail (German 'Behang') proceeding from his neck (162) similar to Sutekh's or Amen's pigtail, which is never worn by a goddess or a woman.

In the Pyramid Text of Pepi I translated in the appendix of Dr Budge's *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, 1911, Vol. II, page 342, we read "Pepi is the uræus which cometh forth from Set, which carrieth off that which is brought and Pepi beareth it away and giveth himself life." Thus this uræus would be the means by which the deceased king gets life, and ordinary mortals too in due course. (158), (161), (162), (177), Biella Museum, all represent Set's uræus, which was evidently a most powerful amulet for obtaining the New Life in the *Au-delà*.

Just as on some of these scarabs and seals Set changes into a uræus, so Horus changes into a lotus with two buds, (163) late Hilton Price collection, (164) Lanzoni, and (165) Leiden Museum. That there was some reason for the great amount of Lotus-worship to be found on scarabs must be admitted. It can only be explained by the lotus symbolizing some deity, which would certainly be Horus, or some sacred

Being such as the Glorified Deceased of the short chapter LXXXI of the Book of the Dead which deals with his (the Deceased's) personification as a lotus. In this cryptic chapter, to which I have already referred in an article on *The Rarer Scarabs of the New Kingdom* in the *Recueil de Travaux*, etc., Vol. XXXII the lotus is one of the forms taken by the Deceased, who refers to the god Horus in his speech, but the legends which would elucidate the incomprehensible sentences are lost to us.

A third variation is when the place of Horus is taken by a Maat feather with a very large Ra-sign over it (167). This feather means the goddess Maat, as the Queen's College small plaque (168) with Set and the feather and Ra-sign in front of him shows. An upright uræus, which is the determinative of a goddess, springs out of the feather. This arrangement is sometimes found on scarabs by itself, (166) Munich Antiquarium, Maat not being always endowed with personality. When this quality is needed to be enforced we may even have the regular signs for a goddess  $\odot \overline{\text{I}}$ , *Patric, Naukratis*, Vol. 1.

Besides the small plaque (168) there are two larger ones figured on Plate XXXIV; one with the maat feather and large Ra-sign (171) which belongs to the Fine Art Institute, Boston, U.S.A., and one belonging to Queen's (170) with a large maat feather and cone above, replacing the Ra-sign. Since the Boston specimen (171) is longer the design is got in on one side in its entirety, thus leaving the reverse face for a figure of Thothmes III smashing his enemy. These plaques are certainly Syrian, for gods in rows are a Syrian characteristic. Thothmes III is probably figured as the great Syrian conqueror. There must be a connexion of some kind between these plaques and (167).

In the Book of the Dead the Deceased conceives himself pantheistically. He calls himself Ra, Osiris, Horus, Isis, Tum, the Bennu, Uazit, Khepera, Shu, etc. He uses their names like a neutral flag to deceive his enemies, so that they may think of him as one of these powerful deities, and so will be afraid to attack him.

The ancient Egyptians had no difficulty—as we might have—in imagining the Deceased as Horus and Set combined, for scarabs (159) and (160) may be a mystic representation of them as a dual personality. Horus and Set were welded into one Deity, just as Egypt—originally dual—was welded into one kingdom.

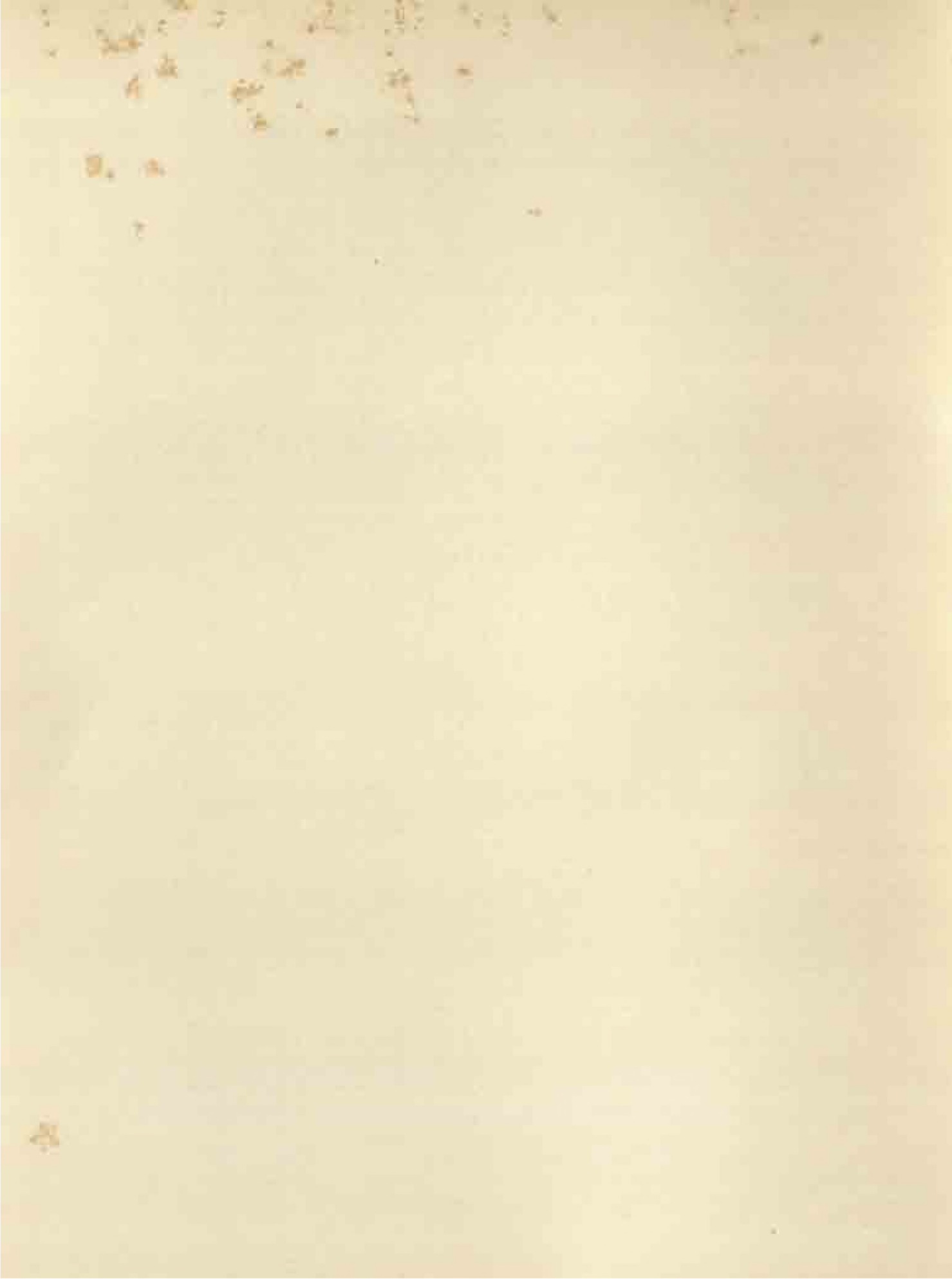
In one scene the two heads, Horus and Set, spring out of one body.

The headless variety (174) and (175) is a fourth variation. The two lines, four times repeated on (175), must be taken with the neb sign on which Set is standing, the whole meaning 'Lord of Egypt.' We know this from a scarab in the Timins Collection where the title is written in the usual way (169). Professor Sayce makes the ingenious remark that "there may have been some religious objection to representing the face of a god; see Exod. xxxiii, 23. In Phœnician theology 'the face of Baal' was a separate Deity."




On the whole we may take the view that the Deceased was mummified and supplied with amuletic figures of those deities whose protection he preferred, and these scarabs testify that in the XIXth Dynasty there were such persons in Syria who wished to be associated with Horus and Set.



Scarabs: Queen's College, Oxford.



## VIII. RAM'S HEAD SCARABS.

There were various sacred cities, and presumably it was advisable to go to them at times. Thus we get occasionally a scarab with two legs, Dad sign, nub and ram's head on it (188).  is a contraction for  or . Mendes. Here was the sacred ram *The Life of Ra*. Ra is often figured as Nub 'The Golden One' on scarabs (see (27), Plate I), so we may translate *Go to Mendes to the (sacred) Ram of the Golden One*. This is the guardian Ram on a scarab in the Louvre (189), *Ba-neb-Dad is behind; do not fear*. (187) of a similar formation reads *Go to Thebes*.

## IX. APIS SIGNS SCARABS.

(192) is a fine scarab with the three Apis signs on it, a winged disk, a hawk with outstretched wings and a scarabaeus also with expanded wings. Shrewmice too were found by Sir Gaston Maspero among the bronzes of the Serapeum which had these signs; see the article by Lefébure in *Sphinx*, Vol. VI, *Les Dieux du type Rat dans le culte égyptien*. Vienna Museum has a twin scarab to this, the hawk on it however has a white patch or disk on his breast. The Apis bull had a white patch (square) on his forehead. It is rare to get a perfect Apis scarab. Very often the cartouche of Men-Kheper-Ra replaces the hawk. The Virey Collection and Athens Museum have each a large Apis scarab with two of the signs, the winged disk being omitted. Dublin Museum has four interesting Apis scarabs (two broken) and two showing that they were used as amulets, for they have ankhs and nefers on them besides the Apis signs.

a. *Nub-Dad-Ra Scarabs.*

Queen's has two specimens of the prenomen of an unknown king, Nub-Dad-Ra (17) and (18). The Fitzwilliam Museum has also a very fine example (19). (18) is valuable because it endorses the view that Nub-Dad-Ra is the king's prenomen, since there is a *nefer* and a Ra sign which must be the Deceased who is placed under the protection of this king. The practice of placing Deceased under Royal Protection can be very fully illustrated by examples. The Egyptians always chose the most illustrious of their kings to protect them amuletically. So it is curious that the personal name of Nub-Dad-Ra is not known.



b. *Lion Scarabs.*

(47) and (49) are Lion scarabs. The lion was sacred to Horus. They were fashionable about the Hyksos period or perhaps a little later. The lion sometimes represents the king, as certainly on the reverse of plaque (88), Plate XXXIII.

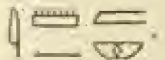
c. *Syrian Horse Scarabs.*

There are various very small scarabs to be met with in collections with horses engraved on them, (46) and (48). They evidently are non-Egyptian and come from Syria, for the Syrian cylinder-seals have the same design on them (50). The horse on larger scarabs means the king. Whether it is so on these little scarabs is uncertain.


d. *Royal Scarabs.*

Passing over the conventionalised scarabs, etc., of the Middle Kingdom we reach (74), which is a very roughly-cut scarab of Ne-Maat-Ra (Amenemhat III). The next nine scarabs, (75) to (83), are incised with the commonest of the cartouches, which forgers are fond of, *Men-Kheper-Ra*. This cartouche is of course often used purely amuletically with no reference to the king whose name it bears, and it seems to have been a powerful protective formula like the Ra-n-Ra expression already mentioned. The Queen's College specimens belong to the Thothmes III type and not to the amuletic class. (88) a plaque engraved on both sides has a man (Thothmes III) smelling a giant lotus (which denotes a Deceased Person) on one side, while the reverse has a lion; evidently both represent the king. It is noticeable that (83) *Men-Kheper-Ra the emanation of Amen-Ka* is correctly given, but (84) having the same inscription leaves out the kheper. This shows how missing hieroglyphs have to be supplied. (85) too has "Kheper" left out and also a verb, possibly 'beloved.' *Men-Kheper-Ra beloved of Amen Ra, Lord of Egypt*. (86) refers to Neb-Maat-Ra, Amenhotep III, but owing to the Ra-sign being exactly over the , which is characteristic of a Deceased Person, it may mean that the goddess Maat is guarding him. (87) has the prenomen of Seti I, Men-Maat-Ra, and a seated figure of Amen, both apparently protecting . (98) is the decidedly rare prenomen of Ramesses XI, Kheper-Maat-Ra. As 'Sotep-n-Ra,' 'chosen of Ra,' is not given, it may be a private name, for the names of gods and kings were used freely by the people. It also occurs on a remarkable seal in Harrow School Museum, and on a cartouche in the Fraser Collection. Professor Petrie mentions a fourth in his collection now belonging to University College.

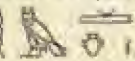
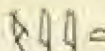
e. *Names of private persons.*

*Amenemheb* (89). We find this name on a stele at Leiden . It is common. The Queen's specimen of it is of a beautiful apple-green pottery and very well engraved.


*Anpu-hotep-mer-neb* (90). Anpu and Hotep are both very common names separately. The two last syllables 'mer-neb,' *loves his lord*, may not be part of the name.

*Hor-men* (91). I have not been able to find this exact name, but names compounded with '' are common.

*Maat-g-men* (92). This name is on the same plan as the previous one. The Egyptians became more and more theophorous in their nomenclature in the later Dynasties.

*Netem-ab* (93). This is a woman's name and there is a variant of it on a Cairo stele, , *Sweetheart*. The Egyptians also used a corresponding name to our common one of 'Amy,' Meryt, .




*Pe-du-Bast* (94). 'The gift of Bast,' a very common name. The same construction is found with numerous other deities; 'the gift of Isis,' 'the gift of Neith,' 'the gift of Ptah,' etc.

*Ptah-user* (95). This name is also found on the false door of a tomb . London. See Lásblein.

*Su-Su* priest of Amen (96). This beautifully engraved dark green jasper scaraboid is published in Professor Petrie's *Historical Scarabs* as well as (17), (18), (24), (73), (87), (98).

*Sebek-hotep* (97). This of course is the name of several kings of the XIIIth Dynasty but it was also a very common name used by the people.


#### f. *Ra in his Boat Scarabs.*

The boat scarabs are a very large class and too voluminous to enter into here. Queen's has three very good examples: (155), Plate XXXIV, *Ra watches, do not fear.* (156), *Ra, the only strength.* (157), *Ra, the guardian and guide of Deceased.* (157) is not to be translated 'The good guardian and guide,' for the Timins Collection contains a rare scarab (165 A) with the  taking the place of , showing that the Deceased '' is intended.

Doubtless Ra is so often depicted in a boat because the Ra-sign is so insignificant alone; it is also used to signify sacredness and divinity, being placed over the symbols for the Dead as on (26), Plate XXXII.

On (56) Ra is used with the stroke 'I' only.

#### g. *Protected ankhs, nefers, hes, etc.*

(105) to (112) inclusive are protected . (108) has Ptah, a uræus (and Ra-sign over it) springing from the bottom of his sceptre, a cone and an ankh placed sideways on account of want of space. Queen's College has four designs with cones, (108), (136), (170), (186) all rare. It is remarkable that Belzoni, though he died nearly 100 years ago (1823) when very little was known of hieroglyphs, nevertheless interpreted rightly this sign (which he calls triangle or pyramid) as an 'offering,' in the Appendix, Vol. II of his *Recent Discoveries...in Egypt and Nubia*, 1822. He also gives the meaning to it of joy or prosperity. Ptah has it for the ankh (108), and Bast has it for the hes (136), Maat for a worshipper(?) (170), a uræus goddess has it (for the Deceased?). The origin of this cone is given in my article in Vol. XXXII, Part 7, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1910, 'Assyrian Seal-Cylinders, etc.'

(112) is Bast as a cat, a rosette pattern adorns the back.

(110) to (124) inclusive are protected nefers.

(122) nefer surrounded with concentric rings. They are a powerful amulet.

(126) is the smallest size in scarabs. It is undecipherable but an *uzat* can be seen on it.

(127) is a prayer. *May Ptah and Maat protect deceased, hes.*

#### h. *Deities.*

(128), Mut and Maat. The latter appears as a Maat feather with Ra-sign above as on (167) and (171).

(129), Winged uræus, probably Uazit, bringing the shen?

(130) and (131) are triads of gods. (130) has Thoth, Ptah and Horus or Ra, (131) has Ptah, Amen and Horus.

(132), Thoth as an ape and Amen seated.

(133), *May (some god bring)*—the god is the figure behind—*Deceased to the city*, probably a sacred city, Abydos or Heliopolis.

(134), Horus of Behdet. This god was often placed over doorways to avert evil.

(135), Thoneris with two knives; one tied to her foot, to hew down the Deceased's enemies. This is a beautifully engraved scarab and rare.

(137), a seated god with Ra-sign and user sign.

(138), Hat-hor as a reposing cow.

(139), Amen as a walking sphinx.

(140), *Ptah the Lord*.

(141), Set and two Maat feathers, doubtless goddesses, attending on him.

(142), Amen Ra as a couchant sphinx.

(143), Amen Ra Lord of Egypt. The lotuses and buds which represent Egypt are more often doubled, to represent North and South Egypt, as on (144), Vienna Museum, which reads *Memphis the mighty the eternal mistress of N. and S. Egypt*.

(146), Maat. She is one of the commonest goddesses on scarabs as well as Bast, who seems the ordinary benefactress.

(150), Set. Very rough work—a seal.

(151), (152), (153), (154), (199), five Amen and Amen Ra scarabs, the three last very common.

(147), (148), (149), three forms of Horus who became the chief god in the later Dynasties.

The Hat-hor cowroids and plaques, etc., are common and not interesting. (178), (179), (180), (183), (184), (185), (207) retain the Hat-hor head; but (181), (182), (192), (194), (195), (196), (197), (198), (205), (208) have degenerated into patterns some of which have little resemblance to the original head of the goddess.

4. The Queen's uzat scarabs (190) and (191) are unimportant, though uzat scarabs are interesting and Bast is particularly connected with them. The remarkable uzat eyes in Cairo Museum have a cat and a fish inside, instead of a pupil, these standing for Bast and Isis. I have written about them in the *Recueil* in the article quoted. (200) and (202) are child scarabs. (200) has a winged uræus guarding the infant.

On the whole, though with few great rarities, the Queen's Collage Collection bears witness that it was chosen by a person who understood, and not by a mere amateur, as some modern collections have been.





## THE SOLDIERS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

By H. M. TIRARD

THE great conflict of European nations has involved Egypt in the fates and fortunes of war, with the result that nominally she has again changed masters, and instead of being styled the vassal of Turkey, she has now become in word as well as in deed a British Protectorate. No sooner was this change effected than Egypt was threatened with invasion, and, as so many times in ancient days, with invasion from the East. In times of peace even in remote ages caravans constantly crossed the eastern desert to trade with Egypt, while in times of war again and again armies invaded the land by the same route. Across the eastern desert Joseph travelled down to Egypt in one of the trading caravans of the Midianites, but before "there arose up a new king which knew not Joseph" the Hyksos armies had probably appeared on the eastern horizon and invaded and conquered the land. Afterwards the Assyrians and Persians led their armies westwards and overran the country, and again in later times the Arab tribes of the East subdued and peopled the much coveted valley of the Nile.

It is almost impossible to say how many nationalities have composed the various invading armies of Egypt in old times, and now that the Turks have called on the nomad tribes that owe her allegiance to help her to subdue her former vassal, history does but repeat herself. The present invasion of Egypt however was never a very serious matter, it fizzled out in a few skirmishes on the Suez Canal when the Turks realised that all their efforts were needed to defend the precarious possession of their European territory. If the armies that attempted to-day the invasion of Egypt consisted of many nationalities the same may indeed be said of those gathered together to defend her and to fight the Turks. Arab and Copt and the native of the Sudan see with amazement the men that have come from distant Australia and New Zealand to help them to defend their land, to join hands with them from across the world lest they should forfeit the beneficent rule of England, who has revived all their ancient prosperity. Vast camps surround the Pyramids, French cavalry vie with Arab horsemen, and the Sphinx, who has seen such wonders of old, still lies watching the wonders of to-day, for the prophecy has come true, and "the Englishman leaning far over to hold his loved India has planted a firm foot on the banks of the Nile, and the sleepless rock lies watching the works of the new busy race with those same sad earnest eyes, and the same tranquil mien everlasting."

Diverse as is the garb and the language of the soldiers watched by the Sphinx their national characteristics present also as great a contrast, and form a most interesting study. At the present time when so large a part of the civilised world is

convulsed in the throes of the greatest war man has ever seen, the national characteristics of the soldiers in the field come to the fore in the most striking manner.

All people are influenced more or less by the nature of the country they inhabit, the British for instance, like other island nations, have a keenness for adventure, a disregard for convention, and a strong feeling of rivalry with their fellows, which has led to the development of strong individual character. Great Britain has always trained her sons as individuals, and the open order in which her soldiers march to battle not only suits the British temperament, but in this war, at any rate, has proved less destructive of life in face of the terrible artillery fire. Germany and Russia with their vast plains and seething population send their armies into the field massed together, army corps after army corps supporting each other. Handled with skill by great masters of strategy, they might seem almost invincible in battle, but their training leaves no scope for the individual prowess to which we are accustomed. The Belgians of to-day, like the Egyptians of the old world, are people devoted to agriculture, and as a rule agricultural countries do not produce nations of warriors. The little Belgian army which has shown such gallantry and worked such wonders has done so in spite of national characteristics; the Belgians are not lovers of the sword, but lovers of hearth and home, and they have been inspired by their patriotism to make a stand that will be famous in all the annals of history to come.

In the midst of the great war in which we are engaged the soldiers of ancient Egypt arouse our interest anew, for like the Belgians of to-day they also loved peace and quietness; they believed the security of their land to be guaranteed not by treaties safeguarding their neutrality, but by the natural boundaries of their country, the sea and the desert. Happy and gay they lived at ease in a valley bathed in sunshine all the year round and watered by the fertilising inundation of their wonderful river. No wonder they hated fighting and became an easy prey to their invaders. Yet now and again in the old time even the soldiers of ancient Egypt, taking advantage of dissensions amongst their rulers, succeeded in freeing their land from their conquerors, and at one memorable time, long before our era, these inhabitants of the valley of the Nile were bold enough to claim the empire of the world. With success in war public opinion in ancient Egypt changed as to the ethics of warfare, for though in the older periods war is spoken of as a necessary evil, yet in the time of the great Egyptian Empire, in spite of many complaints of robbery and cruelty practised by the soldiers, we read of war as the highest good for the country.

The earliest army of Egypt of which we have any record seems to have been more akin to our old Militia than to our regular army. Every town and every village as well as each temple estate had to supply and equip a certain number of men for the army, and in time of war, as in France to-day, the younger priests were probably obliged to serve in the ranks. The servants and retainers of the great nobles were also enrolled according to the feudal system under the command of their various chieftains. These chieftains were not necessarily trained soldiers, and in time of peace they had to undertake civil duties, such as the organisation of the great mining and quarrying expeditions in the Sinai Peninsula, as well as the transport work of conveying immense blocks from the quarries to the temple buildings.

In time of war when the army was mobilised special corps were formed of Nubians from the south as well as of Libyan mercenaries, each under their own officers. The

Madoi, a warlike tribe south of the second cataract, supplied large bodies of soldiers to the Egyptian army, and the word Madoi, probably signifying hunter, became the ancient Egyptian term for soldier and passed into the Coptic as Matoi. Desert tribes always make good soldiers: like Ishmael of old, they enjoy life when their hand is against every man: they have splendid fighting qualities born of the wild desert life, and Arab warriors have more than once put to flight the armies of civilised nations.

In ancient Egypt the commissariat was an important special department under its own officials, who had to give account to the commander-in-chief. We have details of the good commissariat arrangements about 2000 B.C. when an expedition of 3000 men was sent by the Hammamat road to the Red Sea. We read that each man received two jars of water and 20 bread biscuits a day, while wells and cisterns were dug on the route and left safely guarded for use on the return journey.

A wave of martial enthusiasm and of national prosperity swept over the country after the expulsion of the Hyksos about the 16th century B.C., and, after clearing their native land of the foreign invaders, the soldiers were incited by their leaders to carry their arms into the enemy's country. Recruiting agents were appointed from amongst the class of scribes, and the army was reorganised on a far larger scale, and, in spite of the essential non-warlike character of her people, Egypt became a military state. Raids and pillage brought riches into the country, and tribute was exacted from all conquered tribes. The wealth of Asia lured the armies onward, and for perhaps three centuries the whole nation was obsessed by the lust of war. Accounts of these campaigns may be read on the walls of the Theban temples: they tell of no reverses, victories only being recorded.

In this time of Egyptian conquest, the army was divided into two great bodies, the army of the south and the army of the north: Ramses the Great subdivided it again into four great divisions named after the great Gods Ra, Amen, Ptah and Sutekh, the king himself taking command of the division of Amen. The troops were again subdivided into squadrons under captains and officers of lower rank, and several regiments were formed of allied troops and mercenaries who were regularly drilled and trained with the native Egyptian soldiers. Amongst these mercenaries were the Sherden, who may have been the ancestors of the sea-roving Sardinians; they are unmistakable in the representations with their curious spiked helmets reminding us of the German head-gear of to-day. Strategy and tactics have their place in the training of the officers, and though at most the forces in the field cannot have numbered more than twenty to thirty thousand men, yet we read of the wings, and the centre of the army, as well as of flank attacks.

The Egyptians had no cavalry in our sense of the word, though the horse had been introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos. The place of our cavalry was taken by a strong chariot force which supported and cleared the way for the infantry to charge. The Hyksos chariots were manned by three soldiers, but the Egyptians were content with two, one to fight, the other to drive: in some cases the reins were tied round the waist and managed by movement of the thighs, and the driver carried a shield to protect himself and his master. This chariot force numbered some thousands, and was very effective in breaking the ranks of the enemy.

In time of war the King appointed one commander-in-chief, who had the right to appoint officers to subordinate commands. The commander-in-chief was often a

prince of the royal house, and other princes often competed for the higher appointments under him, though whether any competitive examination was held for army appointments we know not; it is far more likely that interest at court and bribery were much to the fore. We know, however, that a good education was necessary, and that the higher officers were often diplomatists as well as soldiers. We read of a chief charioteer who styles himself a royal ambassador to all countries, the scribes of the army also are often mentioned, for out of this class of army scribes a deputy was chosen who is often spoken of as the *representative*.

The commander-in-chief may perhaps be compared rather with our minister of war than with our generals in the field, for his jurisdiction extended not only over the army but also over the navy, if we may so call the fleet of vessels which the ancient Egyptians used in war. These boats were chiefly employed as transports for the troops both on the great river highway of Egypt, and also to cross the sea to the coasts of Syria and Phœnicia; we read both of the disembarkation of troops on these coasts and also of the return of the vessels to the harbour of Thebes laden with wealth and captives. Under Ramses III we have a unique account of a naval battle, the boats being manned chiefly by the famous Egyptian archers; amongst them we see some of the Sherden mercenaries, who indeed on this occasion may have been engaged in battle with some of their own compatriots, for the Sherden with other sea-faring folk were then invading Egypt. On this occasion the Egyptians finally grappled the ships of the enemy, and the fight was continued as on land with the result of a great victory for Egypt; otherwise we should probably have never heard of the battle.

Corresponding with the colours of our troops each ancient Egyptian regiment probably had a standard, a pole with the figure of an animal, an ostrich feather, a fan or some other device at the top, round which the men gathered. Their standards were revered as religious symbols, and may have been the survivals of the tribal fetiches, which, adopted by each province or nome, afterwards became the regimental badge belonging to the militia of that nome. The standard bearer is often mentioned in the inscriptions, and was probably an officer chosen out of the ranks as the spokesman for his company; we read in one place that the "standard bearer, the representative, the scribe of the army, the commander of the peasantry, they go in and out of the courts of the King's house."

In the same way as we have our Lancers or Rifles, the Egyptians also classified their regiments according to the arms they carried, they had their Archers, their Lancers and their Spear-men; some of the Lancers had a dagger stuck in the belt and carried, in addition to their long lance, a short curved sword. Large shields were probably supplied to the whole body of Infantry. A light wand, similar to the cane carried by our officers, is seen in one representation in the hand of each fifth man, and may serve to indicate a subordinate officer in command of four. The Guards, to whom the safety of the King's person was committed, were divided into two bodies of men, all equipped with lances to which battle-axes were added in the case of one corps and shields in the other, while the officers carried either clubs or wands.

The soldiers probably sang *en route*, in the same way as our men nowadays. Many love songs and war songs have come down to us, but who can tell which they sang on the march? Two thousand years hence men may indeed wonder why the English

soldiers sang "Tipperary" in the Great European War of the 20th century; it is only when the music as well as the words are extant that we can realise why soldiers adopt one song more than another; in all ages they care more for the good marching quality of the music than for the words.

It will have been seen from what has been said that the army of ancient Egypt was composed of the most heterogeneous elements. Such an army could only be kept together by the firm hand of a strong ruler who could weld together this motley crew of mercenaries and native levies. Unfortunately Ramses III was succeeded by weak kings, and gradually not only the Egyptian Empire, but also the Egyptian army, fell to pieces. The garrisons that were placed in the conquered towns became another source of weakness, for these garrison troops consisted, as a rule, not of native Egyptians but of Nubian or Asiatic auxiliaries, many of whom were the old enemies of Egypt. In the later days of the Ramesside kings the priesthood of Amen at Thebes rose to great power, and decorations, such as formerly were bestowed for valour in the field, were now showered on the members of the priesthood, who at last succeeded in making themselves rulers of the country.

A time of great political turmoil followed, for while the Egyptian army was chiefly composed of Libyan mercenaries, the population of the Delta became more and more Libyan, as great numbers of that nation immigrated and settled there, and two centuries only after the death of Ramses III, a Libyan chief was crowned king of Egypt. For a time the Libyan kings maintained an army strong enough to invade Palestine, where they scored some successes; but the short-lived glory of the Egyptian Empire was over, the ancient splendour of the great army was a legend of the past, and Egypt after fitful flickers of independence became the prey of the armies of Ethiopia, Assyria and Persia.

Thus throughout their history it is clearly seen that the soldiers of Egypt, whether ancient or modern, only fight well under leaders whom they trust. They have learnt now to trust their British rulers, and they know that success in this great war means the continued good government of the British Protectorate of Egypt.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY 1914—1915: ANCIENT EGYPT

By F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A., F.S.A.

THERE is perhaps some satisfaction to be derived from the fact that Egyptology is able to show a considerable output of work even in this fateful year. The following lists moreover are certainly incomplete, for not only are books few, but those that have been published are difficult to hear of and more difficult to obtain owing to the dislocation of the bookselling business through reductions of staff and interruption of ordinary business relations.

Of general news there is little to record except under the heading "Personal." Exploration in Egypt has been conducted solely by American agencies, amongst which that which is represented by the famous archaeologist REISNER has been the most active and successful.

Another popular work for travellers in Egypt has appeared written by LAOTIER, *L'Égypte monumentale et pittoresque*; it is reviewed by WALKER in this *Journal*, II, 51.

An excellent report on the progress of Egyptology during 1913 is given by BÖEDER, *ZDMG*, 68 (1914), 442. A series of reviews by G. MASPERO, brief but illuminating, of most of the chief Egyptological publications of the year 1913, was contained in the numbers of the *Revue Critique* from 23 August to 22 November of that year; in 1914 his reviews are few in number but individually much longer and more detailed. Miss MURRAY's analyses of the contents of the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, printed in *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, pp. 89, 138, should be useful to many English readers. Both our *Journal* and Professor PETRIE's organ continue to appear with commendable regularity and announce or discuss the latest discoveries and ideas.

## EXCAVATIONS AND EXPLORATIONS.

MEROE. In the fifth interim report (1913-14) of the Liverpool excavations GARSTANG describes the completion of the clearance of the northern part of the royal city (with plans by GEORGE), describes a supposed observatory and discusses some astronomical designs and notes (cf. PETRIE's criticism in *Anc. Eg.* 1914, 176), and gives a revised scheme of the chronology of Meroe. PRYTHIAN-ADAMS makes a more detailed report and describes the excavation of a shrine about two miles to the south of Meroe at the entrance of which stood two great "Meroitic" stelae. The larger of the stelae offers no less than 42 lines of inscription in good condition and perfect at beginning and end; above the inscription was figured a row of prisoners at the base of a much-injured double scene of adoration of a deity by a man and a woman.

PHYTHIAN-ADAMS provides a careful hand-copy and transliteration of the inscription with an index of word-groups. Professor SAYCE follows with an interpretation of the stela, the royal name on which had been found before at Meroë and again at Dakka, suggesting that it gives the Ethiopian version of the war between the Meroites and the Roman Petronius in the reign of Augustus. Mr MOXN, who devised a system of light cables and runners for conveying baskets of debris from these excavations, describes a further invention of tipping buckets to be used with it; they should be most useful in all extensive archaeological clearances in a dry soil. *Liverpool Annals*, VII, 1.

KERMA. Reports of REISNER's brilliantly successful "Harvard-Boston" excavations in the spring of 1913 and in the subsequent season 1913-14. The main historical result is to show that this post, just above the Third Cataract in Nubia, was already occupied by the Egyptians of Dyn. VI and again from the time of Sesostris I to the end of the Hyksos period. The great brick mass of the upper or eastern Deffufa had been a fort surrounded by a large town: the site of the town however had been entirely denuded away by the winds to a metre below the original ground level, leaving only potsherds, etc., except where it was protected by the fortress and its debris. The town had been exceedingly flourishing in the Hyksos period, when it was burnt and abandoned. In the debris at the foot of the fort were remains of alabaster vessels inscribed with the names of kings of Dyn. VI. The eastern Deffufa proved to have been a temple and produced an inscription of Amenemhet III; near this a number of tumuli of remarkable construction were examined; they had been the burial places of Egyptian officials of the Middle Kingdom, including the well-known Zefahap nomarch of Sout in the time of Sesostris I, and each of these burials was accompanied by bodies of sacrificed slaves, etc., sometimes in hundreds. The archaeological finds in the graves and elsewhere, partly Egyptian in character and partly Nubian, were also of the highest importance and interest. *AZ*, LII, 34.

LOWER NUBIA. *Archaeological Survey of Nubia, 1907-8*, vol. II, *Report on human remains*, by G. ELLIOT SMITH and F. WOOD JONES: id. 1908-9, vol. I, *Catalogue of graves and their contents*, by C. M. FIRTH, reviewed by WRZSINSKI, *OLZ*, XVIII, 20.

*The Temple of Dendûr and The Temple of Derr* by BLACKMAN are reviewed by HALL, *Journal*, II, 194, and BREASTED, *Mon*, XV, No. 34.

ABYDOS. Part I of *The Cemeteries of Abydos* has been issued (Parts II and III having appeared in the previous year). The general account of cemetery E, belonging to various ages, is written by Professor NAVILLE, and the description of it in detail by PEET. The work at the royal tombs of Umm el Ga'ab is described by NAVILLE, the pottery, etc., by HALL. Miss Kathleen HADDON deals with a series of skulls from the dog-cemetery described in Part II; they prove to be of pariah dogs with one exception which seems to be of a jackal.

WHITTEMORE reports a further excavation of the ibis-cemetery in the spring of 1914, yielding fine examples and interesting varieties of ibis mummies; also ibis eggs accompanied by a scarab-beetle, and mummies of various birds and animals. Examples are figured, *Journal*, I, 248.

*La tombe d'Osiris* and *Le grand réservoir d'Abydos*, articles by NAVILLE reprinted from the *Journal de Genève, Rev. Arch.* XXIV, 107, 111. An account of the great structure with plans is given by the explorer in *AZ*, LII, 50.

**SAWAMA** near Akhmim. Brief account of a cemetery of the first half of Dyn. XVIII which contained chiefly women's graves and yielded a fine series of small objects. *WHITTEMORE, Journal*, I, 246.

**FAYUM**. Note on the remarkable discoveries at Theadelphia at a temple of the crocodile-god Pnepheros, in the excavations of the Alexandria Museum, *OFFORD, Anc. Eg.* 1915, 57.

**Riqqeh**. Memoir by ENGELBACH, with contributions by Mrs PETRIE and Miss MURRAY, on the excavations of the British School in 1913, when tombs of the Middle Kingdom with inscribed coffins, etc., and a fine group of jewellery were the chief finds. *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*.

**Lisht**. Report by MACK on excavations in 1913-14 at the north pyramid. A large town site was found with various remains (but apparently no papyri) dating from the end of the Middle Kingdom to Dyn. XXII, and underneath this the scanty remains of XII Dyn. mastabas, the pits and burial chambers of which were full of water. To get rid of the water was a difficult business, but it was eventually found that a powerful pump installed in one of them reduced the water level all round and it is hoped to profit by this knowledge in another season. Several interesting finds were made including a standard weight of Senusert for 70 units of gold. *New York Bulletin*, IX, 207.

At the South Pyramid, that of Sesostrius I, excavations eastward and north of the temple disclosed two small pyramids, both plundered, and beyond them to the east and north of the causeway a large mastaba belonging to a great official named Imhotp. Against the south side of the enclosure wall two solar boats were found buried and a small pair against the S. wall of the mastaba itself; further in a pocket in the south wall of the enclosure lay two wooden statuettes of the king with the white crown and the red crown, and a small shrine containing the mysterious symbol of Anubis standing in an alabaster cup exactly as it is figured in the sculptures. The symbol was a rod of cedar-wood covered with a dummy animal made of linen and skin all carefully wrapped like a mummy. The discovery of an actual example of this mysterious emblem is of great importance. *LYTHGOE, The Egyptian Expedition 1914: Excavations at Lisht* (Supplement to the *New York Bulletin*).

**MEMPHIS**. Various sculptures, etc., from the excavations of 1913 described by PETRIE in *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*.

**SAQQARA**. QUIBELI writes on his excavations for the government in 1913-14 when clearances were made near the tombs of Mereruka and Kagemni and the pyramid of Teti. A good deal of untouched ground was found that had been covered by the great heaps from earlier excavations, and contained interments of various ages at different levels. *Anc. Eg.* 1915, 6.

After the complete clearance of the great mastabas north of the pyramid of Chefred in unsuccessful search of inscriptional proof of their date, during the autumn of 1913, Dr REISNER had the shafts and burial chambers completely emptied; this is generally a thankless task, but was rewarded by the discovery of eight detached portrait heads of life-size. Belonging to the princely families of the Fourth Dynasty they are of great interest. One princess was of negro type and another apparently of non-Egyptian type. A very suggestive find was of a large pottery jar, certainly non-Egyptian and perhaps brought from Syria with cedar or olive oil. *Boston Bulletin*, XIII, 29.

GIZA. Professor JUNKER describes the important Austrian excavations near the Great Pyramid in the beginning of 1914. In the eastern part of the concession mastabas of the Sixth Dynasty were met with. In one tomb the burial chamber itself contained a painted scene of a funerary meal; in general the disposition of the various parts and the contents showed an approach to Middle Kingdom types. Important observations were made regarding mummies, portrait-statues and the portrait heads which were intended to replace the actual heads as they decayed. *Journal*, I, 250.

## PUBLICATIONS OF TEXTS.

(a) *From sites in Egypt, etc.*

THEBES. *The Tomb of Amenemhät* (No. 82) copied by Mrs DAVIES with explanatory text by A. H. GARDINER. A fine volume, the first in the Theban Tomb series, reproducing with the utmost care and completeness by line, photograph, and coloured plates the surviving scenes and any other fragments which have been preserved by previous copyists, the remains of destroyed figures, etc. being restored so far as is necessary to make them intelligible. The text explains the scenes and inscriptions and deals with the formulæ and ideas embodied in them with such fullness as to serve as a guide to most tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The last chapter describes the typical furnishing of a burial-chamber of the period as it would have appeared when the ancient tomb-robbers first entered it. Reviewed in *Anc. Eg.* 1915, 139.

MEIR. Parts I and II of the *Rock Tombs of Meir* have been published containing the tombs of Senbi son of Ukhhotp, and of Ukhhotp his son, dating from Dyn. XII. The fine and interesting scenes are excellently rendered in Mr BLACKMAN's drawings. The first volume is reviewed *Anc. Eg.* 1915, 84, *HALL, Journal*, II, 193.

(b) *From Museums, etc.*

CAIRO. Tomb inscription of Dyn. IV from Gizeh, the will of a man in favour of his wife and brother, leaving to them revenue from the royal palace and the ownership of two pieces of land on condition that they maintain the funerary offerings for himself and his mother, MORET, *C.R. of Acad. des Inscr.* 1914, 538. The same authority has succeeded in reading a damaged tablet from Coptos left unread by WEILL, and finds it to record a decree of Neferkauhor nominating Shmai as "Superintendent of the South" and enumerating the 22 nomes of Upper Egypt which were placed under his authority. *ib.* 1914, 565.

The inscriptions of twenty-eight early cylinder seals from the BLANCHARD collection with suggested interpretations. PETRIE, *Anc. Eg.* 1915, 78.

MARSEILLES. Inscriptions on the coffins in the Museum, completing the publication of the inscriptions in the collection; the other part was printed as long ago as 1890. MARPERO, *Rec. de Trav.* XXXVI, 128.

BRITISH MUSEUM. The fifth part of *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae, etc.*, consists of fifty plates of drawings (one photographic) of monuments ranging from Dyn. XI to Dyn. XVIII.

MANCHESTER. PERT re-edits the text which mentions the Asiatic expedition under Sesostria III. *The stela of Sebek-khu* (publication of the Manchester Museum).

MOSCOW. Stele of the Middle Kingdom with chapter of "bringing the bark" (spell 270 in SETHE's *Pyr.*), small fragment from the Pyramid of Pepi, inscription from Ekhnun, New Year's wishes, historical scarabs of Rameses II as organiser of the fortress station of Zaru, and of Amenhotp II. TURATJEFF, *Egiptologičeskije zametki* in *Bulletin* of the imperial academy of sciences, 1915.

*Miscellaneous.* Chapters LXXXVIII, LXXXIX of the Middle Kingdom coffin texts. LACAU, *Rec. de Trav.* XXXVI, 209.

*Hieratic.* Photographs of a long and fine Book of the Dead written for Ga-sushen, daughter of Menkheperre of Dyn. XXI, with index of the chapters contained in it. NAVILLE, *Le papyrus hiératique de Katseshni au Musée du Caire*.

Ostrakon from Thebes with signs and dots interpreted as names of boats and tally numbers of their loads. PETRIE, *Anc. Eg.* 1915, 136.

*Demotic.* W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die so-genannte demotische Chronik* (*Demot. Stud.* Heft 7). Another of his admirable publications of important demotic texts, giving a complete edition of the great pap. 215 of the Bibliothèque Nationale with photographic facsimile and glossary. The papyrus appears to have come from Memphis or its neighbourhood (in the time of NAPOLEON's expedition), and to have been written in the first half of the Ptolemaic period. The recto contains not a chronicle but a series of oracles written originally on tablets and here reproduced with interpretations: unfortunately the first four tablets and an unknown number at the end are lost and only no. 6—no. 13 remain. Professor SPIEGELBERG considers that the oracles were connected with the national aspirations of Egypt; the earlier concerned the past history of the last national dynasties, XXVIII—XXX, and they must have concluded with the prophecy of the restoration of a native ruler. One result of this study is that the usual order of the two Nekhtnebes kings, Nekhtnebef and Nekhtnarhebi, must be transposed, a fact which is confirmed by several pieces of evidence, thus making Nekhtnarhebi the last of the Pharaohs.

On the verso are written a variety of texts, now fragmentary, a story of Amasis II, rules for a college of priests, memorandum of a collection of Egyptian laws under Darius, regulations of Cambyses regarding the Egyptian temples and a scrap of a romance.

Two bilingual mummy labels in the Ontario Museum are published by W. S. FOX with the help of SPIEGELBERG, *American Journal of Philology*, XXXV, 463.

#### HISTORY.

Professor J. L. MYRES' interesting *Dawn of History* is reviewed by HALL, *Journal*, II, 127; HALL's *Ancient History of the Near East*, by HOGARTH, *Hellenic Journal*, XXIII, 113. Dr BUDGE has written a *Short History of the Egyptian People*, reviewed by SAYCE, *Journal*, II, 48. LIEBLEIN's *Recherches sur l'histoire et la civilisation de l'ancienne Égypte* III is reviewed by W. MAX MÜLLER, *OLZ*, XVII, 505.

A propos of BAILLET's recent publications (see *Journal*, I, 267) AUTRAN writes an essay on Egyptian morality and its influence on the world, *Sphinx*, XVIII, 135.

GAUTHIER's *Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, tome I, reviewed by HALL, *PSBA*, XXXVII, 108.

NEWBERRY and WALSWRIGHT point out that the events recorded at the end of the third row of the Palermo stone show points of agreement with those on year-tablets of King Den or Udy-mu, and conclude that the series in question should be attributed to the reign of this king rather than of Miebîs, and that queen Mert-neit was his mother, *Anc. Eg.* 1914, 148.

MASPERO shows from the new fragments that the Palermo stone introduced the reigns of the successive kings of the first dynasty by the Horus-name, a title followed by a cartouche, and the name of the mother, *Rec. de Trav.* XXXVI, 152. GAUTHIER, who is preparing an edition of the fragments, one of which approaches the original fragment in size, gives a preliminary account of them in *Comptes Rendus*, 1914, 489. It appears that portions of two of these memorials from different localities can now be distinguished.

F. W. READ discusses the records of royal accessions during the Old Kingdom, especially interpreting certain entries on the Palermo stone nearly in accordance with PETRIE and JEQUIER as denoting only numbers of months and days instead of as dates in the year. *PSBA.* XXXVI, 282, XXXVII, 34.

SETHE explains two entries on the Palermo stone showing that they record the making of a statue of metal for Khasekhemui at the end of Dyn. II and two sun-boats of copper for Neferankere of Dyn. V. *Journal*, I, 233.

W. MAX MÜLLER, reviewing BISSING's *Vom Wadi es Saba riggle*, combats the view that the large representation of Menthotp and Antef is the record of the subjection of the latter to the former. *OLZ.* XVII, 404.

WEILL continues and completes his long study and classification of the kings of the later Middle Kingdom. He considers that Khasekhemui was a Theban king who extended his power over all Egypt, allowing however several royal lines to subsist locally. Shortly after the Semites of the Delta joined with some of the Lower Egyptian kings, and under Khian, etc. attained a similar suzerainty over the whole country until the Thebans eventually overthrew them. *Journ. As.* XI<sup>e</sup> sér. t. III, 519, t. IV, 67.

Professor TURAJEFF of Petrograd has published the second volume of his History of the Ancient East (*Istoria drevnago Vostoka*), covering the period from the rise of the Assyrian and fall of the Egyptian empires to the end of paganism in the different countries. The treatment is systematic, with bibliographies and illustrations; full attention is given to the history of Ethiopia and the Meroites.

GAUTHIER reviews the names and monuments of kings named Sheshonq, of whom he provisionally distinguishes four. *Bull.* XI, 197.

LEGRAIN continues his studies of the family of the Theban prince Mentemhe of Dyn. XXV—XXVI. *Rec. de Trav.* XXXVI, 145. On a scarab of Harua in the service of Queen Amyrtaeus. WIEDEMANN, *Sphinx*, XVIII, 173.

We may here also note Mr HOGARTH's interesting lecture on Alexander in Egypt and the causes and consequences of his occupation of it, *Journal*, II, 53 and Mr WEIGALL's *Life and Times of Cleopatra* with Professor MAHAFFY's and Mr MILNE's criticisms, *Journal*, I, 296, II, 1.

BOESER's magnificent publication of the Leyden stelae of the New Kingdom is the subject of long reviews by MASPERO, *Rev. Crit.* 1914, 121 and WRESZINSKI, *OLZ.* XVIII, 16. There are also important reviews by MASPERO of GARDINER and WEIGALL's *Topographical Catalogue of the private Tombs at Thebes*, *Rev. Crit.* 1914, 141, and *Hieroglyphic Texts from stelae in the British Museum*, *ib.* 213.

## GEOGRAPHY.

J. MASPERO and G. WIET have begun a work of great importance for the geography of Egypt, discussing the Egyptian geographical names in Maspero's Khitat in alphabetical order. The first instalment reaches to *B. Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte* t. I (*Mém.* of the Cairo Institute).

DARISST reviews GAUTHIER's *X<sup>e</sup> noms de la Haute Égypte* with valuable corrections and remarks concerning hieroglyphic names. *Sphinx*, xviii, 104.

TURATIEFF points out a new occurrence of the place-name Teuzai (El Hiba). *Egiptologičeskie zametki* in *Bulletin* of Petrograd Acad, 1915.

FOURTAU records the results for ancient geography of a journey along the coast of Marmarica with new suggestions for the sites of Paraetonium and Apia. *Bulletin Inst. Égyptien*, v<sup>me</sup> sér. t. viii, 99.

Dr BUTLER's *Babylon of Egypt* reviewed by HARTMANN. *OLZ*, xvii, 509. (N.B. a suggestion of SETHE for the origin of the name in a supposed Phapinon "Nilopolis of On" is confirmed by the apparent discovery of this very name in the "Demotic Chronicle" published by SPIEGELBERG, see above p. 238.)

A. H. GARDINER has contributed to the *Cairo Scientific Journal*, viii, 41 an important paper on the map of the gold mines in a Ramesside papyrus at Turin showing that all the map fragments belong to one papyrus instead of two as hitherto supposed, one series of fragments depicting the roads from Egypt through black-coloured mountains of black schist by the Hammamat valley, the other the eastern end of the same at the gold mines themselves among pink hills. This is a great step in advance towards fixing the geography indicated, and it is to be hoped that Mr FARRAR and Mr THOMAS who had previously attempted the identification of the mines may now be able to fix their situation precisely; but Dr GARDINER considers that the original will still repay further examination and rearrangement of the fragments.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS.

An abstract of a lecture by Elliot SMITH on the Foreign influence of early Egyptian funerary monuments is printed in the *Journal* of the Manchester Or. Soc. 1913-14, p. 10.

*Europe.*

S. R[EINACH] comments on the articles of Prof SAYCE and Mr HALL in the *Journal* discussing the date of Stonehenge in the light of Egyptian beads. *Rev. Arch.* xxiv, 129.

BOUSSAC traces the cult of the goddess Bubastis along with Isis in South Italy. *Comptes Rendus*, 1914, 499.

The word *adobe*, derived from Arabic through Spanish, is in origin Coptic and Ancient Egyptian. WIESMANN. *AZ*, lxi, 130.

*Aegean, Asia Minor, Hittites, etc.*

Aegean archaeology has so many points of contact with Egyptian that any general work on the former may claim to be registered here. Of such there are two, Mr HALL's

*Aegean Archaeology* which has been reviewed by HOGARTH, *Journal*, II, 47, [PETRIE], *Anc. Eg.* 1915, 36, PARKYN, *Mon.* XV, No. 43, and the second edition of DUSSAUD, *Les Civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la Mer Égée*, reviewed by BURROWS, *Journal*, II, 126; [PETRIE], *Anc. Eg.* 1915, 29. There are also Mr HALL's notes on recent discoveries showing connexions between Egypt and the Aegean, *Journal*, II, 187, and articles on a chryselephantine figure of the Cretan snake goddess at Boston by E. A. GARDNER, *Anc. Eg.* 1915, 49, and HALL, *Journal*, II, 187, the latter asking for proof of its genuineness as, in his opinion, the modernity of the face surpasses anything that has come even from that island of surprises.

Upon the seal of the treaty between Hattusil II and Rameses II there is recorded to have been a figure of the goddess of Amona: she was a sun-goddess and perhaps the very one figured on Roman coins attributed to Comana in Pontus. GARSTANG, *Liverpool Annals*, VI, 109.

SCHROEDER having demonstrated that silver was named *hat* in the Hittite texts, *OLZ*, XVII, 5, records the fact, pointed out to him by SCHAFER and others, that this agrees with the Egyptian name of silver, *ib*, 79; MÖLLER gives an interesting review of the history of silver in Egypt and proves that the name must have been borrowed by the Hittites from the Egyptians (who had probably in early times derived the metal in small quantities from Nubia) and not vice versa, *ib*, 78.

#### *Mesopotamia, Syria, Semites.*

Egyptian *w'r* "string" = Heb. *ytr*, Arab. *utr*. SPIEGELBERG, *OLZ*, XVII, 424.

A paper by Lieut. V. L. TRUMPER on the Route of the Exodus in *PEFQS*, 1915, 22 (cf. *ib*, 152) is criticised in *Anc. Eg.* 1915, p. 86.

An abstract of a lecture by PEET on Sinai as known to the Egyptians is printed in *Journal Manch. Or. Soc.* 1913-14, 20.

MACALISTER's *The Philistines, their History and Civilisation*, reviewed by CANNEY and HALL, *Journal*, I, 297.

Note by HAUPT supplementary to his article on an early Babylonian invasion of Egypt. *OLZ*, XVII, 342.

BLACKMAN suggests that the famous tomb of Thuthotp at El Bersheh contains a reference to cattle captured in the Syrian campaign of Sesostri III. *Journal*, II, 13.

Notes on the El Amarna tablets by KNUDSTON, *OLZ*, XVII, 483, by SCHROEDER, who is to issue a new autograph edition of the cuneiform texts, *ib*, XVIII, 174, 231 (Arzawa). In the recent excavations at El Amarna two tablets were found, the fragment of a sign-list and the report of a high Egyptian officer of a campaign against a city called Bursakhandu. *OLZ*, XVII, 377.

ALT points out that the Toronto scarab of Shabako published by W. Max MÜLLER was already known from a copy by MASPERO while it was still on sale in Syria, and that MASPERO's question as to its genuineness has not yet been answered, *OLZ*, XVIII, 43. W. Max MÜLLER's identifications of the Syrian cities from which the envoys came in the Golénischeff papyrus are discussed by [PETRIE], *Anc. Eg.* 1915, p. 87.

Professor KING figures and describes a tridacna shell and other objects showing Egyptian influence in their decoration, also two Egyptian scarabs and a bronze figure of Ptah-Tanen, evidently imported from Egypt, all found at Nineveh, *Journal*, I, 237. The same authority discusses the royal tombs recently found at Ashur, the ancient

capital of Assyria. They are datable from the eleventh to the ninth centuries B.C. and lay near the palace and not far from the *ziggurats* or temple-towers. According to the architect ANDRAE who discovered the tombs, the temple-towers, as yet unexplained, may have been royal funerary monuments somewhat analogous to the pyramids of Egypt, and the great sarcophagi which had contained the bodies of the kings seem to show Egyptian influence. KING points out that the Babylonian viewed the dead with unmitigated fear, so that his attitude to them was radically opposed to the Egyptian; although the dead kings may have been differently treated there is as yet no real evidence to connect the *ziggurats* with the tombs, *Journal*, II, 168.

*Les Prophéties d'Eséchiel contre l'Égypte* by PLESSIS, reviewed by LANDENSDORFER, *OLZ*, XVII, 407.

The Schweich Lectures delivered by A. VAN HOONACKER in 1914 have been published under the title of *Une communauté Judéo-Araméenne à Éléphantine*. H. ANSELER, *Zur Geschichte der Juden von Elephantine*, reviewed by GRAMME, *OLZ*, XVII, 406. ROTHSTEIN reviews JAHN, *Die Elephantiner Papyri*, in which the author tries to prove that the papyri which concern the Yahwe temple are religious frauds not earlier than the second century B.C., *ZDMG*, 67 (1913), 719. Notes on Pap. 55 and 57 of Elephantine, LÖW, *OLZ*, XVIII, 7.

The absence of vowels in the "Phoenician" alphabet shown to furnish a strong argument for its originating from Egypt. SCHÄFER, *AZ*, LII, 95.

#### *Africa.*

O. BATES, *The Eastern Libyans*, reviewed by [PETRIE], *Anc. Eg.* 1914, 181, PEET, *Journal*, I, 303. GIUFFRIDA-RUGGERI disputes BATES's theory that the Nubian G-group was Libyan and prefers REISNER's comparison with the Ababde; he attaches much importance to the nasal index of the skull and considers that the protodynastic Egyptians were distinct from the Mediterranean race, and that mummification, etc., were introduced by invaders, *Mon*, XV, no. 32. This latter opinion is opposed by ELLIOT SMITH, who agrees in rejecting the Libyan theory for the G-group, *ib.* no. 41.

NEWBERRY interprets *thaw* in the designation of Libya as "olive tree" in a suggestive paper, *Anc. Eg.* 1915, p. 97. He further identifies Ahmose, mother of Hatshepsut and queen of Tutmosis I, with Ahmose named Henttamehu, i.e. "Mistress of the Libyans," and would connect Hatshepsut's remarkable assumption of male dress with the fact pointed out by O. BATES that female chiefs of the Libyans are represented as wearing the same garb as the male in reliefs of the Old Kingdom and again on a tile of the time of Ramesses III, *ib.* p. 101. SMITH examines records of conquest on the early palettes and recognises on one the name of Libya (applying it to the country where NEWBERRY applies it to the olive tree). *AZ*, LII, 55.

The Egyptian word *per'o*, "Pharaoh," still survives amongst the Bisharin of the North Ethai who have the root *fero*, "king," and probably borrowed it before Coptic times. HESS, *Beduinisches zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, in *Z. f. d. alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1915, 129.

Before the Anthropological Society of Berlin SCHWEINFURTH brought forward the suggestion that the Asiatic elements of civilisation, ox, plough and corn, were introduced into Egypt from south Arabia via Meroe. *OLZ*, XVII, 445.

PETRIE completes his collection of notes on customs etc., of African tribes parallel to ancient Egyptian, showing "how much of general African ideas and culture lies at the foundation of Egyptian civilisation," and how Egypt has influenced Africa in a few particulars from the eighth century B.C. onwards. In summing up he admits a large influence on Egypt from Syria in the second pre-historic civilisation, a potent influence perhaps from Elam at the founding of the dynasties, and from Dyn. I onwards the influence of Mediterranean culture. *Anc. Eg.* 1914, 159. SELIGMAN adds that, as in Egypt, so in many parts of Africa, there is a belief that several souls are contained in a human being, *ib.* 1915, 103.

SAYCE points out that the fine white Meroitic ware is made from kaolin clay (deposits of which he has found to exist ten miles north of the site of Meroe) apparently in imitation of ostrich egg-shell. He would account for the sudden appearance of biscuit or egg-shell porcelain in China in the sixth or seventh century by imitation of Meroitic wares following on Chinese intercourse with Axum; such intercourse is shown by recent discoveries to have taken place as early as the very beginning of our era. *Anc. Eg.* 1914, 145.

SELIGMAN describes with photographs a strange type of dry stone monument which he has found in the neighbourhood of Erkowit, in the Red Sea province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Each consists of a rectangular mass with two oval masses of solid stone work and rubble, all three being connected by curved walls. In each of the ovals is a kind of false door of upright slabs facing the rectangle. *Journal*, II, 178.

#### PHILOLOGY.

##### Grammar.


MONTET criticises in detail and somewhat severely LESQUIER'S *Grammaire Égyptienne d'après la troisième édition de la grammaire d'Adolf Erman* and takes the opportunity to state the arguments for assigning vowel values to some of the signs, especially in the so-called syllabic spelling. *Sphinx*, XIX, pp. 1—62.

Memoir on the formation of words with prefixed *m* by GRAPOW, *Ueber die Wortbildungen mit einem Präfix m in Ägyptischen* (*Abhandl. Berlin Academy* 1914, no. 5.)

The auxiliary *w'h* in Demotic and Coptic. SETHE, *ÄZ*, LI, 112.

Transferred meaning of adjectives in *y* derived from prepositions. ERMAN, *ÄZ*, LII, 107.

##### Vocabulary.

In reporting the progress of the Berlin Dictionary during 1914 Professor ERMAN states that the provisional manuscript reaches as far as , containing in all 6161 words and that much more had been prepared for by himself and GRAPOW. *Sitzb. Berlin Ac.* 1915, 84.

A large fragment of a projected study of Egyptian proper names, containing the classification of those of the Old and Middle Kingdoms compounded with names of deities; it throws much light on their forms and meanings, and proves that in early times such names were in abundant use though with a different choice of deities from the later ones. K. HOFMANN, *Die theophoren Personennamen des älteren Ägyptens* (SETHE'S *Untersuchungen*, VII, I), with preface by ERMAN.

Orthography of the name of the early king *Hwy*. SCHÄFER, *ÄZ*, LI, 98.

Late Eg. *w'w* = soldier not "officer" and *h't* = *angerib*, "bed." CALICE, *ÄZ*, LI, 116, 130.

*Editions of texts, etc.*

LANGE republishes an inscription in the British Museum (*Hierogl. Texte*, I, 55), having recognised it as belonging to a tomb at Hermonthis, from which others are at Berlin and Copenhagen and have already been published by him. This inscription records a contract for the service of the *ka* of the deceased. *Sitzb.*, Berlin Ac. 1914, 991. SETHE makes several further corrections and points out the occurrence of the name of Nebheptre Menthotp obscurely written, dating the stela definitely. *ÄZ*, LI, 128.

Study of the very difficult stela of the artist Irtisen (C. 14 of the Louvre). SOTTAS, *Rec. de Trav.* XXXVI, 153.

Additions and corrections to the previous notes on the Story of Sinuhe, with conclusions as to its literary, geographical and historical value. GARDINER, *Rec. de Trav.* XXXVI, 192.

Suggested translations of two passages in the inscription of Una. BISSINO, *Bull.* XI, 241.

Criticism of translations, etc., in SOTTAS' *La préservation de la propriété funéraire dans l'ancienne Égypte*. MONTET, *Sphinx*, XVIII, 186.

On three passages in the biography of Ahmose son of Abana of El Kab, two regarding heroic deeds, the third as to his birth; the wording of the last, taken in conjunction with expressions in the Book of the Dead, may concern the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. SCHÄFER, *ÄZ*, LI, 101.

New parallel fragment to the Hymn to the Nile. GRAPOW, *ÄZ*, LI, 103.

On the *hap. leg.* ἀπόσκοπος in Hermapion's translation of the Egyptian obelisk-inscription. SETHE, *ÄZ*, LI, 128.

SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Papyri Hauswaldt*, reviewed by GRIFFITH who points out the occurrence of the Nubian ethnic name Megabari in one of the documents. *OLZ*, XVII, 354; see also LAW, below, p. 248.

MÖLLER's *Mumienschilder* (Berlin Museum) reviewed by SPIEGELBERG, *OLZ*, XVII, 403.

W. Max MÖLLER reviews SPIEGELBERG's *Demotische Texte auf Krügen*, *OLZ*, XVIII, 184, MÖLLER's *Die beiden Totenpapyri Rhind*, ib. 208, and SPIEGELBERG's *Prinz Joachim Ostraca*, ib. 247.

*Palaeography.*

MARESTAING, *Les Écritures Égyptiennes et l'antiquité classique* reviewed by WIEDEMANN, *OLZ*, XVII, 405.

Lecture by GARDINER on the nature and development of the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, *Journal* II, 61; an abstract of a lecture on the same subject is printed in the *Journal* of the Manchester Or. Soc. 1913-14, p. 18.

GARDINER discusses a difficult title found chiefly in the Old Kingdom and written with a sign resembling an apron or a bag. It occurs only in connexion with foreign expeditions and should probably be read *g'* and be interpreted as meaning "dragoman." *PSBA*, XXIV, 117.

JÉQUIER views the symbols  $\frac{\text{O}}{\text{T}}$  and  $\text{O}$  as amuletic ties, not as objects of ordinary use, refuting other interpretations, *Bull.* XI, 121.

The hawk's eye as hieroglyph for the eye of Horus, TURATIEFF *Egiptologičeskie zametki* in *Bulletin* Petrograd Acad. 1915.

On hieratic writing, illustrated by specimens in the Metropolitan Museum, C. L. BRANSOM, *New York Bulletin*, IX, 236.

#### RELIGION.

ZIMMERMANN's *Aegyptische Religion nach der Darstellung der Kirchenschriftstellern und die aegyptischen Denkmäler*, reviewed by WIEDEMANN, *Sphinx*, XVIII, 162.

The view of Osiris as the corn god presented in FRAZER's *Golden Bough*, *Adonis Attis and Osiris*, ed. 3, is criticised by GARDINER, who finds in the original documents festivals of Osiris connected with his death and burial, with the kingship, and with the agricultural seasons, but declines as yet to construct a general theory; that Osiris in the Egyptian texts appears essentially as a king and even so as limited to the dead king is not sufficiently kept in sight in the great work. *Journal*, II, 121.

Review of THIERRY, *De religieuzer Beteekenis van het Aegyptische Koningschap*, 1, reviewed by W. MAX MÜLLER, *OLZ*, XVIII, 183. Articles, *King* (Egyptian) by FOUCART, *Hymns* (Egyptian) by BAILLIE, *Images and Idols* (Egyptian) by the same, *Isis* by SHOWERMAN, *Incarnation* (Egyptian) by WIEDEMANN, all in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of Ethics and Religion*, vol. VII. The last of them is highly praised in *Ang. Eg.* 1914, 188.

Reviews of D. MACKENZIE, *Egyptian Myth and Legend*, by LEEPER, *Journal*, II, 130; HOFNER, *Tierkult der Alten Aegypter* by WRESZINSKI, *OLZ*, XVII, 473; BALLOD, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte der Zwerghaften Götter in Aegypten* by [PETRIE], *Ang. Eg.* 1915, p. 85.

MAHLER publishes a stela at Budapest showing Tethmosis III and an officer Nefer-khat offering fish, fowl and other game before Ammon, in support of the idea that the fish-symbol in Christianity originated in Ancient Egypt, *ZDMG*, 67 (1913), 37.

A few years back BOCHART published a memoir on the architectural remains of the sun-temple built at Abusir by Ne-user-re of Dyn. V. BESSING and his pupil KEES are now preparing a publication of the highly important reliefs which have survived from it, and the former gives a summary of the results from their combined study, especially of the scenes illustrating the foundation ceremonies and the *sed*-festival, throwing much light on the ceremonies, the deities represented in this connexion and their symbols. *Die Reliefs vom Sonnenheiligtum des Rathures* in *Sitzb. Bavarian Acad.* 1914.

Before the Berlin Academy, 16 July 1914, ERMAN read a paper on Amenhotp IV's religious reform. The reform was destructive rather than constructive, the chief feature being denial of all gods but the sun-god, all mythology and all that was supernatural. *OLZ*, XVII, 445.

Stela with figure of the lion-god of Leontopolis and inscription in hieroglyphic and demotic, at Hildesheim. SPIEGELBERG, *Rev. de Trav.* XXXVI, 174.

GRAPOW describes a unique funerary papyrus in true hieratic of the Middle Kingdom before Dyn. XII, from a tomb at Asyut; the texts resemble those upon coffins of the time. *Sitzb. Berl. Acad.* XXVII, 376.

Representations at Thebes of the shoulder being cut off a living bull-calf for offering at funerals. WEIGALL, *Journal*, II, 10.

MORET points out that the label over the window of the mastaba found by JUNKER in 1913 (cf. *Journal* I, 260) is not "House of the ka of Re-ur," but "The two eyes of the house of the ka of Re-ur," and from its position judges that it leaves the question of the meaning of the name "house of the ka" still open; he himself prefers STEINDORFF's view that the whole tomb is signified, not merely the *serdab*, as MASPERO believes. *ÄZ*, LII, 88.

BLACKDEN's somewhat occult *Ritual of the Mystery of the Judgment of the Soul* is reviewed, *Anc. Eg.* 1915, 46, *Journal*, II, 52.

Representations connected with begetting of children by the dead, WIEDEMANN, *Sphinx*, XVIII, 167; and of resurrection, TURALEFF, Collection (*Sborinka*) of the Historical-Philosophical Society of Kharkoy in honour of Prof. V. P. BUZESKUL, p. 3.

Hermaphrodite's rendering of Maat by Ares in the name of Rameses II, W. MAX MÜLLER, *ÖLZ*, XVII, 353. The name Perseus in Hdt. II, 91, WIEDEMANN, *Sphinx*, XVIII, 189.

Comparison of ancient Egyptian and Iranian funerary ideas and practices by J. Imshedji MODI, *Journal Manch. Or. Soc.* 1913-14, p. 73; of Egyptian burial customs with modern ones in Nigeria by Elliot SMITH, *ib.* p. 95; and of their use of salt in preservation of the body with a British superstition, *id. ib.* p. 97.

KEES publishes a supplement to his book on the royal dances with offerings *Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs* collected on a visit to Egypt in 1912-13. *ÄZ*, LII, 61.

In a review of Mr. Harding KING's *Customs, etc. of the Western Oases in the Cairo Scientific Journal*, Aug. 1914, modern superstitious illustrating ancient practices are pointed out; perhaps the most curious is the trundling of a sieve by the father after the birth of a child, which is now recognisable in the sculptures of Deir el Bahri and other Egyptian temples. *Anc. Eg.* 1915, p. 87.

On the magic power of pictures, etc. and its recognition by the Arabs, WIEDEMANN, *Sphinx*, XVIII, 207; an Arabic metaphor for the divine art of making the earth fruitful by means of water is paralleled in a Leyden papyrus translated by GARDINER. FRANK-KAMSETZKY, *ÖLZ*, XVII, 394.

LEGRAIN's *Loupsor sans les Pharaons*, describing many modern customs and superstitions, reviewed by BRANDENBURG, *ÖLZ*, XVIII, 21.

#### SCIENCE, ETC.

F. W. MÜLLER, who accompanied the second expedition of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft to Abusir el Meleq and examined all the anthropological material found there, describes the results in a special memoir *Die anthropologische Ergebnisse des vorgeschichtlichen Gräberfeldes von Abusir el Meleq*. The skeletons, which were in very bad condition, belonged chiefly to the late prehistoric age, partly to the Hyksos period: about 50 were worth study and partial preservation. No support was found for the theory of a religious breaking up of the body, which theory is however carefully examined. Important evidence was found regarding mixture of races and changes of type in the earlier period, not however agreeing precisely with those postulated by Dr. Elliot SMITH from material collected chiefly in Upper Egypt.

Dr AMSDEN contributes a note to *Anc. Eg.* 1915, p. 53, on skulls of Dyn. XII from Harageh and Lahun, with diagrams of curves comparing the measurements of skulls of the same period from Deudera. Prof. PETRIE in explaining these diagrams states that in general they give evidence that during the Middle Kingdom the people in Middle and Upper Egypt were unified, whereas they were clearly distinct in both earlier and later periods.

WIEDEMANN notes that rubbing of the feet in repose was a form of comfort or delight alike in ancient and in modern Egypt. *Sphinx*, XVIII, 172.

SELIGMAN shows that a peculiar form of circumcision which prevails among the Masai is represented on certain of the early slate palettes, where a "Bantu sheath" has been supposed to be represented; he considers that the vanquished on these palettes are ethnically related to the predynastic or protodynastic Egyptians, some being from the north, others, showing negro admixture, from the south. *Liverpool Annals*, VII, 45.

On the camel in ancient Egypt and in Christian hagiology, and a suggested representation of the okapi from Tarkhan. WIEDEMANN, *Sphinx*, XVIII, 174.

C. WHYMPER reproduces his exquisite drawings from nature of the Golden-Headed vulture (Egyptian vulture) and the night-jar (*Caprimulgus*), with interesting remarks on Egyptian representations of birds, and a prehistoric ivory carving of the night-jar in Prof. Petrie's collection. *Anc. Eg.* 1915, 1.

A. LUCAS shows that most of the material in Egyptian mummies that resembles and is usually named pitch or bitumen is really resin or gum; wood-pitch also occurs, but he has not yet seen an example that proved to be bitumen, i.e. mineral-pitch, although there is literary evidence in Diodorus and Strabo that bitumen from the Dead Sea was employed by the Egyptians in mummifying, *Journal*, I, 241. Cf. the references for REUTTER's experiments in *Journal*, I, 284, 285, which include Judæan bitumen in the finds.

PETRIE gives an interesting historical sketch of the use of the different metals in Egypt—copper, gold, silver, lead, tin, bronze, iron, antimony (rare) and zinc. Iron, though rare in early times, was in use at all periods and was probably at first made from native iron: smelting from ore probably began about 1200 B.C. *Anc. Eg.* 1915, 12.

A celt of an unusual material, viz. nephrite as determined by a mineralogist, O. BATES and J. E. WOLFF, *Man*, 1915, no. 77.

A paper on Egyptian blue by LAURIE, McLINTOCK and MILES in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Society, vol. 89, pp. 418—429, is reviewed in *Anc. Eg.* 1914, 186 (see *Journal*, I, 73). It may be noted here that WIEDEMANN upholds the thesis (against the views of WELLS and HOWE) that the emerald column in the temple of Tyre (*Hdt.* II, cap. 44) was of artificial emerald. *Sphinx*, XVIII, 182.

G. W. MURRAY describes a Roman mining camp and mentions the discovery of ancient workings for amethyst in *Cairo Scientific Journal*, August 1914, cf. *Anc. Eg.* 1915, p. 88.

#### LITERATURE.

WIEDEMANN discusses the analogies of the story of the Two Brothers with the story of Joseph, pointing out remarkable coincidences with the developments of the latter originating in the Middle Ages and after. *Sphinx*, XVIII, 203.

Under the title of Kultur-historical Memorials of the Ancient East TURAJEFF of Petrograd is editing a series of small volumes of which the third contains the translation of Egyptian biographical texts, with notes and illustrations, *Razskaz Egyptianine Sinucheta i obrazci egipetskich dokumentalnoich avtobiographii*. It includes the Story of Sinuhe, for which see also GARDINER above, p. 244.

Dr BUDGE has published a volume on *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, reviewed by SAYCE, *Journal*, II, 48.

The lamented Jean MASPERO published a papyrus from Aphroditopolis containing the copy of a formal accusation brought by a philosopher Horapollon of Phaenobythis against his wife at the end of the fifth century, and adduced evidence for identifying the writer with the author of the *Hieroglyphica*. The epithet Nilous attached to the name of the latter he considered to mean simply "Egyptian." *Bull.* XI, 163.

#### LAW.

PRET analyses the Mayer Papyri recording the police examination of robbers of the royal tombs, etc., at Thebes under Dyn. XX, and shows that the two papyri together formed but one roll containing a continuous text. *Journal*, II, 173.

SPIEGELBERG translates and comments on an oath by king and god in a Ptolemaic demotic papyrus at Berlin, an undertaking to cultivate and pay rent for a piece of land; parallels to this oath are found in Greek papyri. *Rec. de Trav.* XXXVI, 167.

SETHE upholds his theory that the *xatōxoi* of the Serapeum were simply persons imprisoned in the temple for debt or crime. *G.G.A.* 1914, 385.

Articles, *Inheritance* (Egyptian) by G. FOUCART and *Law* (Egyptian) by GRIFFITH are in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of Ethics and Religion*, vol. VII.

#### ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY.

Miss CROMPTON gives a short account of the important Egyptian collection in the Manchester Museum, *Journ. Manch. Or. Soc.* 1913-14, 25. MERCER publishes a note on the collection of antiquities made by Commander GORRINGE; a photograph reproduces the most important object, a stela of a Memphite official named Ptahmosi which had been long lost sight of, *Rec. de Trav.* XXXVI, 176. A catalogue by MAHLER of the collection of Beöthy ZSOLT in the University of Budapest, including many forgeries, is reviewed by WRISZINSKI, *OLZ*, XVIII, 20. Illustrations of new cases of objects from REISNER's excavations at Kerma and Giza, *Boston Bulletin*, XII, 39.

The only addition to the magnificent volumes of the *Cairo Catalogue* is *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, by Ü. LEGRAIN, Tome III, containing those of Dyn. XXI-XXV from the Karnak cachette: it includes also some monuments dated to Dyn. XXVI.

Dr BUDGE has issued a volume of photographs of *Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum*, the most important statues, groups and other monuments in the collection, ranging from Dyn. III to the Ptolemaic age. Reviewed by NAVILLE, *Journal*, II, 45.

SCHÄFER contributes an essay on the origin and nature of Egyptian art to *ÄZ.* III, 1: his admirable articles on the works of art of the time of Amenhotp IV in the Berlin Museum, originally printed in the *Antilche Berichte* XXXIV, XXXV, are republished in *ÄZ.* LII, 73.

SCHÄFER has written a sketch of the subject of Egyptian art for popular purposes, accompanied by an excellent selection of reproductions, *Aegyptische Kunst*, being the first part in a new edition of *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*; it is cheaply got up, and is sold for the equivalent of 1s. 2d. Reviewed by E. BRANDENBURG, *OLZ*, XVII, 357.

156 photographs of well-chosen examples illustrating Egyptian architecture, statuary and relief work, with an introductory essay, FUCHHEIMEN, *Die Plastik der Aegypter*.

MASPERO'S *Essais sur l'Art Égyptien* reviewed by G. FOUCART, *Sphinx*, XVIII, 121.

L. KLEBS has an elaborate paper on the treatment of distance (*tieferdimensionen*), including tendencies to perspective, in the reliefs of the Old Kingdom. *ÄZ*, LII, 19.

Lecture on the art of the Predynastic period, PEET, *Journal*, II, 88.

ERMAN points out copies from Hatshepsut's Deir el Bahari sculptures and inscriptions employed in Theban tombs of the Saite period. *ÄZ*, LII, 90.

PETRIE has written an interesting paper on the stone age in Egypt. He provisionally classifies the palaeolithic implements by form and workmanship according to the French series, hoping that in the absence of stratification, the evidence of changes of sea-level etc. may eventually confirm or disprove the arrangement in detail. Reaching the age of the prehistoric graves he compares especially the fine Danish work with the Egyptian. The paper ends with an examination of the climatic conditions in Europe at different periods of the stone age and a consideration of parallel effects in Egypt; this part is illustrated by remarkable photographs to show the sculpturing of desert hills and valleys. *Anc. Eg.* 1915, 59, 122.

On May 22, BÉNÉDITE described a remarkable acquisition of the Louvre, a fine flint knife of predynastic age with carved ivory handle, one face depicting a combat by land and water with opposing fleets, the tribe which wears side-locks apparently triumphant; the other face a desert scene with animals and in the centre a bearded hero conquering two lions, showing the influence of Babylonian art. *Comptes Rendus*, 1914, 321.

Relief portraits on wood of Hesy, of Dyn. III; portrait of Neferkere in hammered bronze, *Anc. Eg.* 1915, 48; statue of Ranefer VII Dyn. at Cairo, and wooden statuette of an officer of Dyn. XVIII at Berlin contrasting the styles, *ib.* 1914, 192; limestone portrait head of Dyn. XVIII at Brussels, *ib.* 1915, 144. QUÉBEL'S *Tomb of Hesy* is the subject of a long and interesting review in *Anc. Eg.* 1915, 37.

BISSING has published and discussed a number of bronze figures of the Middle Kingdom in Athens, Cairo, Munich, Berlin, etc., with a chronological list of bronze figures which date from before the Ramesside period, *Mitth. d. deutschen Instituts zu Athen*, XXXVIII (1913), 239: a selection of sculptures of the period of Amenhotp IV (Akhenaton) to establish the successive developments of style, *id.* *Denkmäler zur Gesch. d. Kunst Amenophis IV.*, in *Sitzb. Bavarian Acad.* 1914.

WIEDEMANN interprets certain representations of handmen in Egyptian tombs as portraying a particular standing posture of an ordinary individual instead of one suffering from a malformation of the knee-joint (see *Journal*, I, 258). *Sphinx*, XVIII, 179.

Limestone group of a governor of gold lands and his wife with interesting inscription, in the collection of Miss LAYARD. GRIFFITH, *Journal*, II, 5.

Diorite sarcophagus of Dyn. XXX from Sakkara. MISS RANSOM, *New York Bulletin*, IX, 112.

Scribe's palette for an official Ab-ye, axehead from a foundation deposit of Tuthmosis III at Coptos, pottery figures of the goddesses of Mendes and fayence hag and *menkhet* amulets, NASH, *PSBA*, xxxvi, 249. Statuette of Ahmose Nefertari wife of Amosis I in the Blanchard collection and amulets of bull and lion conjoined, etc. *id. ib.* xxxvii, 145.

Ushabti-cases in his own collection, the Hermitage museum, etc. TURAKOFF, *Drevnosti* (antiquities) of Moscow, tome xxv.

PETRIE's *Amulets* reviewed by NEWBERRY, *Journal*, II, 129.

Abstract of lecture by PETRIE on beetles and scarabs in early Egypt, *Journal Manchester Or. Soc.* 1913-14, 6.

HALL's *Catalogue of Scarabs, etc. in the British Museum* reviewed by PEET, *Journal*, II, 192.

Scarab of Tuthmosis III celebrating the erection of obelisks: [JANSOM] in *New York Bulletin*, x, 47 (note upon it *Journal*, II, 188). Heart scarab of queen Amyrtæus, and gold pendants in the form of rams' heads, fly, and aegis of Sakhmet. *id. ib.* x, 116.

WIEDEMANN points out that a scarab in the Menx collection was made and inscribed for a certain Baron Paul WEISZ in the eighties, *Wochenschr. f. Klass. Phil.* 1915, no. 17; *ref. OLZ*, xviii, 188.

Two parts have been issued of an extensive publication of high archaeological value, WRESZINSKI's *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*. Each part contains 20 admirable photographic plates of scenes, almost all selected from XVIIIth Dyn. tombs at Thebes, where much assistance was given to the author by N. de G. DAVIES. The descriptions are illustrated by numerous figures, and it is a peculiarity of this publication that all of the figures without exception are photographic, including reproductions of actual objects of antiquity—clothing, ornaments, etc.—which are seen in the paintings and sculptures. The plates appear to follow each other without any classification; the illustrative objects, ranging from the Old Kingdom to the Roman period and not always contemporary with the scenes, are not described or dated, but their source is always indicated.

HUNGER u. LAMER's *Altorientalische Kultur im Bilde*, reviewed by MÖLLER, *OLZ*, xviii, 182.

STEINDORFF's *Grab des Ti*, reviewed by WRESZINSKI, *OLZ*, xvii, 356.

DARESSY publishes an inscribed object not unlike a head-rest, but from the inscription evidently the throne of a priest, and catalogues uninscribed examples of the same class. *Bull.* xi, 233. *cf. Anc. Eg.* 1915, 142.

Balls of Nile mud stamped all over with criss-cross and inscribed, from a mastaba of Dyn. IV-V at Abydos. PEET, *Journal*, II, 8.

LEHMANN-HAUPT suggests that the linen girdle of Ramesses III was woven with cards or small wooden boards (*Bretchenwebers*) instead of on a loom. Liverpool, *Annals*, vii, 50. LING ROTH's *Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms* is reviewed by H. S. H. *Man*, xv, no. 52.

MOSTET examines the representations of the Egyptian clap-net for catching water-fowl and interprets it in detail. *Bull.* xi, 145.

Val. GROSS writes an illustrated article on ancient Egyptian profane dances as figured in the tombs, showing that the Egyptians were skilled dancers and practised not only the pironette but also the lively *grand battement* or high kick. *Rev. Arch. iv<sup>me</sup> Sér.* t. xxiii, 332.

## PERSONAL.

The losses by death in the ranks of Egyptology have been heavy during the past year. Dr J. H. WALKER, who had long acted as Professor PETRIE's assistant at University College, London, died on July 21, 1914 (*Anc. Eg.* 1914, 190; *Journal*, I, 295); Lieut. K. T. FROST, who had worked with PETRIE at Sinai in 1906, and held a lectureship in archaeology at Belfast, was killed in France in August (*Journal*, I, 29). Early in the present year Flaiman O. J. SPURRELL died at the age of 72; he was a stimulating and highly valued contributor to PETRIE's early work in Egypt, especially through his careful studies of flint implements (*Anc. Eg.* 1915, 93). France has lost by untimely death in the war Jean MASPERO, whose studies in the Byzantine documents had already borne rich fruit for Egyptology in regard to geographical questions (*Journal*, II, 119). Of the veterans, E. AMÉLINEAU, whose activity continued to the last, died in January (S. R[ÉINACH] in *Rev. Arch.* XXIV, 333; *Journal*, II, 188), and E. GRÉBAUT in February. The latter was for a time director of the Service des Antiquités; "après avoir débuté plus brillamment qu'aucun homme de sa génération il y a quarante ans, il a disparu obscurément sans avoir tenu suffisamment ses promesses" (G. MASPERO in *Rev. Arch.* XXIV, 332). Germany has lost F. RÖSCH, a Coptic scholar of distinction, who had recently studied the Berber languages in North Africa and both ancient and modern life in Egypt, and of whose future work great expectations had been formed; he died from wounds in August 1914, aged 31 (*AZ.* LI, 131); also K. HOFFMANN, a promising young scholar, who fell a sacrifice to the war in November at the age of 25, *OLZ*, XVIII, 94. He had done much work for the Dictionary, especially in connexion with the Kahun Papyri and the proper names; an important fragment of his studies upon the latter is published with a biographical note by Prof. ERMANN (see above p. 243). On Feb. 23, Mr Theodore M. DAVIS of New York, well known for the explorations which he carried out among the tombs of the Kings at Thebes, died in Florida at the age of 78.

Appreciative notices of the work and character of the late E. R. AYRTON are to be found in *Journal*, II, 20; *PSBA.* XXXVII, 5.

In October Sir G. MASPERO retired from the Directorship of the Service des Antiquités in Egypt and M. LACAU was appointed in his place. Under the new arrangements the Curator of the Cairo Museum is no longer responsible to the Director, and Mr J. E. QUIRELL holds the Curatorship in succession to E. BRUGSCH-Pasha.

Sir G. MASPERO on his return to France has been elected secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-lettres, filling the gap left by the death of G. PERROT.

In the autumn H. SCHÄFER was appointed director of the Egyptian department in the Berlin Museum, *OLZ*, XVII, 381, and more recently G. ROEDER has been made director of the Pelizäus Museum and of the art section in the Roemer-Museum at Hildesheim. *OLZ*, XVIII, 217.

The letters to Sir William GELL, edited by Mr H. R. HALL in the *Journal* take us back to the heroic days of Egyptology. In order of date they comprise a letter from SALT of Sept. 1822, showing at least how YOUNG's and CHAMPOLLION's first readings of hieroglyphics already began to be thought about and tested on the monuments in Egypt by an amateur, self-important and over-ambitious though he might be; two lively letters from Gardner WILKINSON of 1826 and 1827, proving his activity

and success in collecting matter at Thebes and elsewhere that was useful for the understanding of the monuments, and especially throwing light on the order of the kings; most important of all, two letters of the same years from CHAMPOLLION himself, both written from Paris, the earlier while the great decipherer was busily organising the Egyptian Museum in the Louvre, the latter while he was petitioning for a mission to Egypt: a letter of 1827 from SEYFFARTH, a very unsuccessful rival of CHAMPOLLION in decipherment; and lastly two from BUNSEN of 1829, singularly amateurish but eager for information. Mr HALL explains the allusions, etc., in notes and introductions in the course of which he remarks that GELL acted for a time as a sort of Egyptological clearing-house; consequently the letters written to him from so many sides are of particular interest for the light they throw on the early stages of progress in decipherment. *Journal*, II, 76, 133.

In the *Bibliothèque Egyptologique* the fifth volume of E. de ROUGE'S *Œuvres diverses* contains lectures delivered from 1865 to 1872, originally edited from the notes of his pupils and now collected together.

## NOTES AND NEWS

We publish in this number a preliminary notice of the Balabish excavations by Mr Wainwright. From this it will be seen that very interesting results have been obtained. We must condole with Mr Wainwright for having been twice rejected for military service by the doctors, but we hope to see him in uniform yet, in some capacity where slight medical disability will not be a disqualification. Mr Wainwright returned by sea from Egypt in June, without the slightest difficulty or delay, as does everybody else. Here is an instance in point of the triumph of the British Navy and the futility of the German so-called submarine "blockade." Any British subject can go about his business on the seas without trouble or difficulty. *Sed populus teutonicus vult decipi, et decipitur!*

Our American Honorary Secretary, Mr Eckley B. Coxe, has been conducting a private excavation this season at Gizah and Memphis, which is reported to have resulted in the discovery of a palace of Menephtah. We hope to publish details of this notable find in a later number.

The twenty-third memoir of the Archaeological Survey has now appeared in the shape of the volume for 1912-13, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, Part II. In this volume Mr Blackman continues his description of the remarkable Meir tombs, with their interesting representations of the life of the great nobles of the Middle Kingdom. More pictures in naturalistic style of the Beja herdsmen of the eastern desert appear on the walls of the tomb described, that of Senbi's son Ukhhotp, and are reproduced. The collotype plates, by the Photophane Company, give a very good idea of the reliefs, and Mr Blackman's drawings are careful and accurate as usual.

With regard to the remarkable inscribed mud balls found in a mastaba at Abydos and published in Part I of this year's Journal, pp. 8-9, Mr Griffith writes that the signs incised on them are probably meant for  $\odot Q \longleftarrow$ <sup>1</sup>, and Dr Gardiner has independently made the same suggestion. If this is correct we clearly have here the verb *hṯm* in its not unusual sense of "to make a contract." Mr Griffith suggests that each ball is a kind of token deposited in the tomb by some priest as a sign that he acknowledged the contract concerning funerary offerings, services etc. made with him by the deceased. The number of balls would thus correspond to the number of contracts entered into with the priesthood. This theory certainly gives a very plausible explanation of the

<sup>1</sup> Both the  $\odot$  and the  $\circ$  have their usual early hieratic form. The third sign is hardly  $\curvearrowright$ , which in O.K. hieratic has quite a different form, but may well be  $Q$ , of which we have no early examples in hieratic.

presence of the balls in the mastaba, of the finding of pieces of papyrus or cloth within them, on which the contract or some reference to it may just possibly have been written, and of the writing of the word *hmn* outside. Mr Griffith now adds: "The tomb contracts were evidently a source of much quarrelling and anxiety, and I should think these symbolic contracts may have been deemed to have magic force for the fulfilment of the originals—but many alternatives are possible."

It may here be added that a further examination of the balls makes it clear that some of them contain pieces not merely of papyrus reed but of papyrus sheets prepared for writing, the sheets being as usual double and the fibres of the two halves running at right angles to one another.

In the Edwards collection at University College, London, there is a similar mud ball and fragments of a second. Professor Petrie believes that they came from Abydos, though I can find no reference to them in the publications. Unfortunately the inscription is in both cases so crudely incised that it is impossible to make anything of it.

T. E. P.

We much regret to record the death of the distinguished French archaeologist, M. Joseph Déchelette, which took place upon the field of honour on Oct. 3 last. The army order recording his death reads as follows: "Déchelette, capitaine de l'armée territoriale au 298<sup>e</sup> d'infanterie, a été tué le 5 Octobre, alors qu'il entraînait sa compagnie sous un feu violent d'artillerie et d'infanterie, et lui a fait gagner 300 mètres de terrain; avant de mourir, il a demandé au lieutenant-colonel commandant le régiment si on avait gardé le terrain conquis, et, sur sa réponse affirmative, lui a exprimé sa satisfaction, en ajoutant qu'il était heureux que sa mort servit à la France." It was a death like that of Wolfe.

Captain Déchelette was fifty-three years of age at his death. His name will be known to many of our readers from his admirable *Manuel d'Archéologie*, the fourth volume of which, bringing the subject down to the Christian Era, was published shortly before his death. He was an authority chiefly upon the prehistoric antiquities of Europe, more especially those of the La Tène period, but he took an equal interest in all branches of archaeological work, including our own.

We deeply regret to have to record the death of Mr James Dixon, lieutenant in the Border Regiment, who was killed in action at the Dardanelles on August 10. Mr Dixon had worked for the Fund for several seasons at Abydos with M. Naville and Mr Peet. His powers as a draughtsman were of great value to us, and as an excavator his energy and his popularity with the workmen were a considerable asset. Mr Dixon had also worked with Mr Blackman for the Egyptian Government at Dendûr, and with Mr Wellcome in the Sudan. We had looked forward to his rejoining us after the war, but he has not been spared, and we can only deplore his loss.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*A History of Persia.* By Lieut.-Col. P. M. SYKES, C.M.G., C.I.E. 2 vols. pp. xlviii + 1100. 175 plates and 7 maps. London: Macmillan & Co. 1915. 50s.

This book would have delighted the heart of the late Professor Freeman, who not only always preached the unity of Ancient and Modern history, but set out himself to give an example how it should be written, in his (unfortunately unfinished) *History of Sicily*. Colonel Sykes has been more fortunate. In these two bulky volumes, the result of years of labour, he tells the whole story of Persia from the early days of Elam, when "the four kings fought against the five" (as the book of Genesis reveals), to the granting of the Persian Constitution in A.D. 1906. And the attempt at unity is justified; it is a commonplace among all students of Ancient Persian History that the people now are the same as they were in the days of Darius and Xerxes; Herodotus and Xenophon in describing them are in agreement with Lord Curzon and Colonel Sykes. Prominent as a cause of this persistent character are the well-marked geographical features of the country which are admirably described in this book, especially in the opening chapter.

It is probably in this respect that Col. Sykes' history will be most valuable to the student. The traces of his twenty years' stay and travel in Persia can be seen in almost every part; there are few of the great routes that he has not traversed, or of the great sights that he has not seen; we may instance especially his account of the great mosque at Meshed, "the glory of the Shiah world" (II, 236-7). He expresses the modest hope that his book may be "used occasionally by students of Greek and Roman history." They will certainly gain in understanding of their problems from the vigorous descriptions of one who is something of a trained historian, as well as a traveller and a geographer, and who has had such experience as few historians possess. At the same time it must be remarked that Colonel Sykes follows his classical authorities rather too closely, and is not quite familiar enough with the literature of the last thirty years, especially that published in German. The only histories of Ancient Persia that he quotes in that language are those of van Outschmid and of Nöldeke, both works of a past generation. It seems strange to have no reference at all to E. Meyer's great *Geschichte des Altertums*, not to mention more specialized works like those of Prätorius and Winckler (the only book of the latter referred to is his popular Babylonian history, which has been translated into English). And it will surprise even those who have a high opinion of Herodotus, to have two pages given to his account of the rise of Media, with the remark "this account is drawn from Herodotus and is believed to be true" (p. 127). So too it is somewhat of a shock to have Bury's *History of Greece* classed among works that "constitute a notable advance in our knowledge of the subject" (p. 198). Colonel Sykes, however, does less than justice to Professor Bury in ignoring his splendid edition of Gibbon; the *Decline and Fall* is quoted from Smith's edition, which was the best 20 years or so ago. But, as has been already said, specialists have something to learn from Colonel Sykes, and they need not go to him for criticism of their authorities.

The story that he has to tell is a wonderful one; a nation that has numbered among its native rulers Cyrus, Darius, Abbas the Great and Nadir Shah, and among its conquerors Alexander, Khalid, Chenghiz Khan, and Tamerlane, that has produced one of the great world religions in Zoroastrianism, and that has developed an art and a literature that appeal to West as well as to East, is not likely to lack interesting pages in its history, and Colonel Sykes tells his story well, although in his long narrative of over 1000 pages there are parts that the ordinary reader may be pardoned for skipping.

There is a special opportuneness in the appearance of this history at this time, when the world is overshadowed by a conflict which owes its rise, largely at any rate, to the "Drang nach Osten" of the Central European powers. Colonel Sykes' book reminds us again and again of the part which the powers of the Middle East have played in world history. Every student of the records of the English in India knows something of the early days of our enterprise in the Persian Gulf, and will read with interest the account here given of those bold seventeenth-century pioneers; but Modern Historians too often overlook the importance of Persia, in distracting the energies of the Turkish Sultans at the time when the Ottoman power was at its height; it is not too much to say that the division of the Mahometan world into Shi'ahs and Sunnis, and the consequent Turco-Persian Wars in the 16th and the 17th centuries, helped greatly to relieve the danger to Western Europe from monarchs like Selim and Suleyman. It would have been interesting if Colonel Sykes would have allowed himself a little latitude as to the present time, and had told us what he thought of the prospects of Persia once again playing an important part in politics. His last paragraph tells us that the year 1906 "ended the Old Order and brought into existence the New": he hints that he may resume his labours, and it is to be hoped that his half promise may be fulfilled.

Meantime it would be ungrateful not to mention, apart from the more definitely historical parts of the book, the illuminating chapters on Persian Art and Literature. And these are rendered the more valuable by the wonderful series of illustrations—nearly 100 full-page ones in each volume—comprising portraits, landscapes, buildings, native Persian drawings; some of these are in colours, and reproduce Oriental art very effectively.

It may be added that there are several good maps, and an excellent index, as well as a very full table of contents. Colonel Sykes has given us a good and workmanlike book on a great subject, and it should find its due place in every historical library.

J. WELLS.

*The Migrations of Early Culture. On the Significance of the Geographical Distribution of the Practice of Mummification. A Study of the Migrations of Peoples and the Spread of certain Customs and Beliefs.* By Professor G. ELLIOT SMITH. Manchester University Press. 3s. 6d. net.

The science of ethnology is now in the throes of a struggle between two widely different views concerning the history of human culture. Workers in the science, especially in this country, have for the last forty years been dominated by the belief that the similarities of custom and belief which are found in widely separated parts of the world are the result of the uniform reaction of the human mind to similar conditions. To such an extent has this become a dogma that it has blinded its adherents to the obvious fact that the conditions under which the similarities occur are often about as dissimilar as could well be. Only recently has there been a return to the older view that these similarities are the result of diffusion from a common source by means of migration.

For some time it has been clear that the first decisive engagement in the contest would take place over megalithic monuments and their associated elements of culture, and, chiefly through the work of Elliot Smith, hopes have been raised that it may be possible by the study of these monuments to learn the place of origin and assign a date to one of the prehistoric cultures shown by the process of ethnological analysis to be present in many parts of the world.

The present monograph is the outcome of the chance examination of a Papuan mummy by one with an intimate knowledge of the history of Egyptian mummification. During a visit to his old medical school last year Professor Elliot Smith examined a mummy from Torres Straits and found evidence of processes, such as openings in flank or perineum, mode of suture, extraction of brain-substance by the foreman magnum, and incisions on the extremities, which correspond with the technique of an advanced stage of Egyptian mummification. The view that these details of technique were discovered independently would make it necessary to believe that, in a climate most unfavourable for such experiments, the rude savages of Torres Straits discovered technical procedures which cost the highly civilised Egyptian many centuries of patient research. We have evidence from this mummy of the spread of Egyptian culture to a region so remote and inaccessible that it remained wholly unknown to our own civilisation till the seventeenth century.

Having by the examination of this and other Papuan mummies established the Egyptian origin of the practice, the next step was to study the distribution of the practice of mummification. This study, carried out with the assistance of Mr W. J. Perry, has shown a close agreement with the distribution of megalithic monuments and other uses of stone, of cult of sun and serpent, of divine kingship, and of such elements of culture as circumcision, tattooing, ear-piercing, massage, head-deformation, the *evmetika*, and myths of flood and petrification. Moreover, the correspondence of the details of Papuan mummification with those of one period of Egyptian history have led Elliot Smith to regard a time about 800 B.C. as the approximate date at which this group of customs was carried over the world. He promises us a work in conjunction with Mr Perry in which he hopes to show that the Phoenicians were the carriers of this culture.

The importance of this work is so great and its acceptance by ethnologists and archaeologists will have such far-reaching consequences that it is our duty to scrutinize the evidence with the utmost care. This evidence concerns two quite distinct problems:—the Egyptian origin of Papuan mummification, and the composition of the culture-complex of which mummification forms one element.

The case for the Egyptian origin of Papuan mummification rests on the presence of several points of resemblance in detail. If there had been only one such resemblance, it might have been possible to hold that people who set out to preserve their dead might well have hit upon a similar procedure by means of which to effect their purpose. Every increase in the number of resemblances makes it more difficult to accept this position, and when there are seven or more such resemblances in detail, the chances against their independent origin become very great. One weak point in the argument must be pointed out. One of the facts on which the case rests is that the Egyptians extracted the brain substance by way of the *foramen magnum*, but this method has only been observed, and that not conclusively, in one case belonging, not to the XXist, but to the XVIIIth dynasty. This defect, however, concerns the dating<sup>1</sup> rather than the main conclusion, for it is a sufficiently remarkable fact that such people as the natives of Torres Straits should have extracted the brain at all.

The conclusions concerning the nature of the culture-complex associated with mummification rest mainly on the fact of common distribution, and in so far as they depend on this, there is a weak spot in the argument. The area of distribution assigned to the complex is mainly along coast-lines and on islands, pointing to the carriage of the culture by a maritime people. Such a distribution may well have been produced by more than one migration. It will be necessary to examine minutely the distribution of each one of the elements associated by Elliot Smith with mummification, and only when this has been done will it be possible to reach a positive conclusion concerning the number of waves of migration by which the existing distribution has been produced.

Elliot Smith's case, however, does not rest solely upon the criterion of common distribution. Conclusions thus reached are reinforced by evidence of other kinds. Thus, the common distribution of the cult of the sun and the piercing and distension of the ear-lobe leads Elliot Smith, as it led Park Harrison more than forty years ago, to assign these two elements of culture to one migration. This conclusion is greatly strengthened when we find in such places as the Solomon Islands that the disc worn in the distended lobe represents the sun, while elsewhere images with distended lobes are adorned with representations of the sun. It is possible, perhaps probable, that the culture-complex which Elliot Smith supposes to have travelled over the world about 800 B.C. reached its present distribution in two or more successive waves, but if this be so, we shall only have an example of the usual course of scientific progress in which the first generalisation is reached on evidence insufficient to show the complexity of the conditions for the analysis of which the generalisation provides the most profitable working hypothesis.

To Egyptologists this work should have the greatest interest, not only for its demonstration of the far-reaching influence of Egyptian civilisation, but also because it opens up avenues by which we may hope in course of time to acquire knowledge about aspects of ancient Egyptian culture on which its material and written records will perhaps ever be silent. In the present state of our knowledge it would be premature to use the social and religious institutions associated with the megalithic complex as a means of explaining the mysteries of Egyptian civilisation. Only after years of patient research shall we attain such a knowledge of this complex as would justify its application to elucidate the less material aspects of Egyptian culture. The work before us, however, opens a vista of possibilities

<sup>1</sup> The principal mode of embalming is also of little value so far as dating is concerned.

in this direction which should bring the sciences of archaeology and ethnology nearer to one another than they have been in the past. The archaeologist has never fallen to the same extent as the ethnologist under the spell of the dogma of independent origin. If the two sciences had been in closer touch, ethnology might have escaped the blighting influence to which it has been subject for the last forty years.

W. H. R. RIVERS.

*The Ancient East.* By D. G. HOGARTH. pp. 256 with 6 maps. London: Williams and Norgate, 1914. 1s. net.

As the result of excavation and research, carried out from many sides during the last half-century, our knowledge of the ancient history of Egypt and Western Asia has been continually increased. The successive editions of Maspero's great *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*, or Meyer's *Geschichte des Altertums* bear witness, both in their text and in augmented references, to the manner in which great gaps in our knowledge of the sequence of events have been filled in with accurate and detailed information. These works have long established their position as the principal authorities on their subject, and, thanks to the scale on which they are compiled, they remain our standard works of reference. But a need has long been felt for a volume on the ancient East which should cover the same ground in a comparatively small compass, and should thus form an introduction to the study of the subject as a whole. The first attempt in this direction was made some years ago by the late Hugo Winckler, whose sections in Hehnolt's *Weltgeschichte* gave a remarkable survey of the ancient history of the nearer East, which perhaps forms the most valuable and sustained of his historical studies. In spite of the fact that two separate editions of the work have appeared in English, their inclusion in a comprehensive world-history, beside less valuable contributions, has prevented their appealing to so wide a circle as their separate publication would have ensured. More recent works in English, such as Hall's *Ancient History of the Near East*, or Mattingly's *Outlines of Ancient History*, may also be warmly recommended, the one covering the earlier ground from the Egyptian and oriental standpoint, the other from that of classical antiquity. But there was still room for a survey which should avoid the detailed discussion of unsettled problems, and, by emphasizing the greater movements, should present a complete picture of antiquity in its essential features as revealed by tradition in the light of recent discovery.

For the earlier periods this task has been brilliantly accomplished in Professor Myres' *Dawn of History*, which forms a companion volume, or introduction, to Mr Hogarth's *Ancient East*, both of which have made their appearance in the same series. The present volume takes up the record practically at the point to which Professor Myres had led his readers. It begins, in fact, with the opening of the first millennium B.C., the point at which Greek and Hebrew historic traditions become credible and consistent; and, if we include the Epilogue, it carries us to the opening of the Christian era, including within its survey all those forces which eventually led up to the religious conquest of the West by the East. The volume thus covers a single millennium, less than half the length of that embraced in Professor Myres' work; but the historic material is so much richer that the necessity for selection and compression is increased more than two-fold. In unskilled hands such a survey might easily degenerate into a dull catalogue of names and dates: it is worth noting how Mr Hogarth has disposed his material.

The problem which he has had to solve is to convey in a very limited compass a sense of the history of the whole East, as the sum of the separate histories of particular parts. The ordinary method, which is that usually followed in such summaries, is to consider events consecutively in each country; Mr Hogarth has adopted the more original plan of looking out over the whole area of the East at certain intervals, two centuries apart, and noting in each of its component parts the changes which have taken place. He has thus avoided the necessity of repetition and overlapping; and the reader never loses his sense of the whole through having to follow for too long the detailed fortunes of any one nation in the wide area. In spite of the deliberately restricted scope of the work, its author has restated many old problems, and his treatment of certain periods must be carefully considered by future historians. An attempt will be made to touch upon a few of the more valuable and suggestive lines of enquiry which are thus opened up.

One point which Mr Hogarth brings out is the precise meaning which must be attached to the word "empire," when applied to the areas over which some of the earlier kingdoms of Western Asia claimed control. The first empire in the proper sense of the word, and the only imperial dominion which was established in Asia before Alexander's conquests, was the work of Egypt, a non-Asiatic power. In the early part of the sixteenth century Egyptian armies had raided Semitic Syria right up to the Euphrates; but they simply ravaged and returned. Thothmes III was the first Egyptian monarch to reduce such strongholds as Megiddo, and to establish in the southern part of the country a series of permanent garrisons, by means of which he maintained authority and collected regular tribute from the subject chiefs. Still more organized was the rule of Amen-hotep III; but the scanty traces of Egyptian influence on Syrian civilization support the inference to be deduced from the Tell el-Amarna letters that the number of genuine Egyptians who passed through or resided in Syria was very small; the Egyptian court seems always to have been ready to rule the country vicariously, so long as tribute was forthcoming. Far less entitled to the name were the earlier empires of Babylon, and those of Assyria which followed the downfall of Hittite power. As Mr Hogarth points out, the nomad Arab bequeathed to the settled Semite of Mesopotamia his immemorial instinct of restlessness, which in a settled society found satisfaction in annual recourse to tent life and in annual predatory expeditions. The campaigns of Babylonian and more especially of Assyrian kings were simply Bedawi razzias on an enlarged scale. Early Babylonian or early Assyrian empire must thus be held to imply little more than a geographical area throughout which a king could and did raid without encountering effective opposition. The small grounds on which far more ambitious claims have sometimes been put forward are well illustrated by the supposed Western empire of Nebuchadnezzar I. It is true that in a charter of privileges he is ascribed the title "conqueror of Amurru," but this probably implies little more than a successful raid up the Euphrates; a current exaggeration of its significance may be traced in part to a confusion as to the authorship of Nebuchadnezzar II's fragmentary rock-inscription at the Nahr el-Kelb, which is written in archaistic characters. The middle and later Assyrian empires were, of course, merely military despotisms; and the policy of deportation and transference of nations introduced as a system by Tiglath-pileser IV, and continued by the Sargonids, contained within itself from the first the seeds of decay.

A disputed matter on which Mr Hogarth's opinion must carry great weight concerns the extent to which the Minoan civilization may have influenced the coast-lands of Syria. It has of course long been recognized that the settlement of the Philistae along the strip of coast to which we give the name Philistia, is to be traced directly to the great dispersal of Cretans which followed the fall of the Knossian dynasty. But a further point, which requires explanation, is the sudden expansion of the Phoenicians into a maritime power at about the beginning of the first millennium. The explanation of Herodotus, that they were driven to take to the sea by the growing inadequacy of their land territory, may in part be right in view of the evidence we possess of Aramean pressure from inland. But, as Mr Hogarth points out, the Cypriote and Aegean importations which have been recovered among early Phoenician and South Syrian antiquities may be cited in support of Sir Arthur Evans's view, that Phoenician civilization, and especially the Phoenician script, owed their being in great measure to an immigration from the nearest overseas-lands which had long possessed a fully-developed art and a system of writing. A fresh access of population from an area of higher culture would certainly account for the rapid development of Phoenician art, which cannot legitimately be traced to any Aramean influence. And we should further receive an adequate explanation of that puzzling spectacle of a Semitic-speaking people taking to the sea, which to the pure Semite was always a source of terror.

We are glad to see that Mr Hogarth rehabilitates the Medes in the position from which they have in late years been deposed by more than one writer. The view that they played no part in the overthrow of Assyria assumes that references to the Umman-Manda must be invariably interpreted as applying to the Scythians alone, whereas the term is very loosely employed in the inscriptions; and it also involves the assumption that the traditional part played by the Medes is based on an erroneous identification made by the Greeks. Mr Hogarth has reason on his side in finding it hard to believe that Greek and Hebrew authorities of very little later date should both have fallen into such an error. There is much, too, to be said for his view that the Neo-Babylonian empire owed

its security and success in no small measure to Median protection. The intervention of Babylon in the conflict with Lydia after the battle on the Halys in 585 B.C. must have been undertaken in the Median interest, and it is possible that Cyaxares could count on Nebuchadnezzar for more than benevolent neutrality in case of need. The ease with which Cyrus possessed himself of the Median empire may be traced to disaffection on the part of the northern group of the Iranians, perhaps due to the favour shown by the Median kings to their Scythian subjects; and the rise of the southern or Persian Iranians, enjoying as it did with the westward expansion of Media, furnished the occasion for the fusion of the two branches under a southern dynasty. That Babylon should have made so feeble a defence of her own frontier after the fall of Sardinia is certainly suggestive of former dependence on Median support. An interesting piece of new evidence in this connexion has been recovered since the publication of Mr Hogarth's volume last autumn. It points to the possibility that Gobryas may not have been a Persian but a native Babylonian general, who had in his younger days seen service under Nebuchadnezzar. With the disappearance of Media he may well have despaired of any successful opposition to the Persians on his country's part.

Mr Hogarth emphasizes the part played by sea-power in the dissolution of the Persian empire. In this connexion he points out that Egypt, which had been the weakest spot in the Assyrian empire, proved also the weakest in that of Persia. The natural barriers of desert, swamp and sea, set between Egypt and the neighbouring continent, are so strong that no Asiatic power which has attempted to conquer the Nile Valley has ever been able to keep it. All history, in fact, bears witness that no one, whether in Asia or in Europe, can hold Egypt unless he holds the sea. The loss of Egypt was not measured by the mere loss of her revenue, for she continued to help every rebel against the authority of the Great King. Alexander, too, appreciated the importance of sea-power in his design of conquering the East, and his delay in subduing Syria proves that he realised he must hold all the ports before going up into Asia. We have not space to follow Mr Hogarth in his analysis of the steps by which Hellenism penetrated the East. The political victory was won by men of Greek civilization, but, as he points out, it was only to a very partial extent a victory of that civilization. The West at that time did not assimilate the East except in very small measure, and it has not assimilated it in any large measure to this day. The East on its side has always been obstinately unresponsive of Western influences, and Mr Hogarth is probably right in tracing this fact to certain geographical reasons, the most important being the large proportion of desert steppes in Western Asia and of the human type produced by such country.

In the course of this review it has been possible to do little more than glance at some of the more striking features of Mr Hogarth's work. But these will suffice to give some indication of the great value the book has, not merely for those who would make a first acquaintance with an unfamiliar subject, but for every serious student of ancient history, whether he approaches it from the classical or the oriental side.

L. W. KING.

*The Tomb of Amenemhat.* By NINA DE GARIS DAVIES and ALAN H. GARDNER. The Theban Tomb Series. Published under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund. pp. 132. 46 plates. London: 1915. 25s. nett.

The present volume is the first of a number which are to form a "Theban Tombs Series." This series, taken in conjunction with the Catalogue of Theban Tombs issued last year, may be considered as the second step in a Theban tomb programme for which we have to thank several people, not least among them being the joint authors of the present volume, and Mr Robert Mond, to whom it is very appropriately dedicated. The first step naturally consisted of the proper excavation and preservation of the tombs and their contents; the second, of which the first instalment is now before us, involves the copying and description of the various tombs.

Of the illustrations, whether in black and white or in colour, little need be said, Mrs de Garis Davies' name, like that of her husband, being a sufficient guarantee for accuracy of copying and insight into the feeling of the original.

As for the text, Dr Gardner has quite naturally taken advantage of this first volume of the series to discuss Egyptian funerary methods and beliefs in general. In order to appreciate the value of his treatment of the subject it is necessary to take into account not only the rare qualifications of

the author for his task but also the present state of the science of Egyptology. The pressing need for excavation in Egypt has facilitated the accumulation of material while preventing its assimilation and digestion. The result is that the path of Egyptology is encumbered by masses of incorrect beliefs, often based on nothing more than the hypotheses of early investigators to whom the literary evidence was partly or wholly closed, hypotheses which evidence collected in later years shows in many cases to be utterly wrong. These fallacies disfigure our text-books and have become part and parcel of our science. For the present, however, excavation is at a standstill, and there was never a more favourable moment for calling a halt and purging Egyptology of this accumulation of error. Consciously or unconsciously Dr Gardiner has set himself to the task. He takes nothing for granted, allows himself to be biased by no belief, however prevalent, and attacks every problem from first principles. Where the evidence shows the prevalent notion to be incorrect he rejects the notion; where the evidence, while not disproving it, cannot be regarded as conclusive he retains an open mind on the question. Thus, for example, the usually accepted explanation of the *hpr di ushet* formula seems to him unsatisfactory, and so he does not hesitate to devote 15 pages of small print to an investigation of the question on linguistic and historical lines, so searching and complete that it puts any previous discussion of the subject completely into the shade. Similarly, Dr Gardiner refuses to adhere entirely either to the German or to the French point of view on the question of the magic value of the tomb-paintings, but after a careful and dispassionate discussion of their origin and history takes his stand midway between the two extremes. The closing pages of the book, which deal with the Egyptian conception of life after death, will be disconcerting to many of those who cherish the current beliefs on this point, but they are an excellent example of the fearless readiness of the author to throw over preconceptions and stand or fall by the actual statements of the Egyptian texts.

It must not, however, be forgotten that Dr Gardiner's ability to treat his subject in this penetrating manner is due above all things to his ability to translate the texts of the tomb *correctly* and to compare them with others of similar nature. And this prompts a somewhat disturbing reflection. As in classical archaeology the first appeal must always be to the literary evidence, so in Egyptology any discussion involving references to what the Egyptians themselves believed must take account of all the known texts bearing on the point; of these not merely a translation but a correct translation must be obtained, and consequently only the advanced student of Egyptian philology is in a position to deal with such questions unaided and without some dependence on the translations of others, already perhaps coloured by their own ideas. This is a serious matter, and we may be the more glad that Dr Gardiner has on this occasion deserted philology to make so successful an incursion into the domain of Egyptian belief.

T. E. PEAR.

*Une Communauté Juéo-Araméenne à Elephantine, en Égypte, vers VI<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles av. J.-C.* Par A. VAN HOONACKER, Docteur en Théologie, Professeur d'Hébreu et d'Ancien Testament à l'Université de Louvain. The Schweich Lectures, 1914. London. Published for the British Academy. Oxford University Press. 1915. pp. xi, 91. 3s. net.

Dr van Hoonacker, Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament in the University of Louvain, now, alas, an exile in our own land, is well known as an acute and independent scholar, particularly by his invaluable commentary on the Minor Prophets (Paris, 1908). Everyone therefore was glad that the British Academy appointed him to deliver the Schweich Lectures for 1914, and that he chose so involved and difficult, though so very fruitful, a subject as the Jewish-Aramaic community at Elephantine. For of all the discoveries made in the last few years affecting Biblical criticism none has given rise to a greater number of speculations than this. Our readers will probably be glad to have a succinct account of the facts as they appear to Dr van Hoonacker.

Some little time after the failure of a native Egyptian force to withstand at Elephantine and Assuan the influence of Ethiopia, in the reign of Psammethichus I (664-610 B.C.), and probably not long after 600 B.C., a body, consisting partly of Samaritans and partly of Jews, and mainly, but not exclusively, soldiers, was settled there. They spoke Aramaic of a Babylonian type, and brought with

them many Babylonian ideas and customs. Yet they worshipped Jahô, evidently the God of the Hebrews, and built a temple in His honour, without, however, completely ignoring some lesser deities, such as 'Anath-Jahô, 'Anath-Bethel, Afm-Bethel, Haram-Bethel, to whom they or their ancestors had been accustomed to pay some worship in Samaria or even Babylon. They were a mixture, as has been said, of Samaritan and more orthodox Jews, for, coming to Egypt at that early date, the fierce opposition between the two had not yet arisen. True that they must have known that the Law, and particularly Deuteronomy, forbade sacrifices to be offered to God save at Jerusalem, but they considered that this restriction held good only in the land of Canaan, and they felt no scruple about building a temple of some magnificence at Elephantine, and maintaining a cult in which meal-offerings, incense, and burnt-offerings took a prominent place.

All went well with them. Even Cambyses, when he came to Egypt in 525 B.C., and destroyed the sacred buildings of the idolatrous Egyptians, left the temple of Jahô at Elephantine uninjured. And we possess several documents belonging to various dates in the fifth century B.C., collected from one of the private houses near the temple, describing the rights of owners of property in the colony, and giving us reason to suppose that it stood on friendly terms with the heathen around.

But in 410 B.C. evil times came. The Egyptian priests in the neighbourhood, stirred partly by religious, partly by national and political motives (for the Persian rule was intolerable to them, and those who were uninjured by the Persians could not be in reality favourites of theirs), organised a tumult when the Governor was absent at the Persian court in Susa, bribed the Persian commander, broke open and burnt the temple, and carried off its treasures. But the wicked shall not prosper! The Jews fasted in sackcloth, and Jahô, the God of heaven, heard them. A counter tumult was raised and the former conspirators were routed; the treacherous commander was eaten by the dogs, and all they who had sworn ill against the temple were killed.

At this point the believers in Jahô appealed to the High Priest and the Persian Governor at Jerusalem for assistance (of some kind or another) in restoring their temple and its worship, but received no answer. They also sent a letter to the Governor of Elephantine on his return from Susa assuring him of their own innocence. Three years afterwards they wrote to Jerusalem again, and also to the two sons of Sanballat (Nehemiah's old adversary) at Samaria. But they did not gain much satisfaction. The reason of their rebuff is not clear, but probably at this date (407 B.C.) the Jewish leaders were not very kindly disposed to a half-Samaritan community, and also felt scruples about re-establishing the animal sacrifices in Egypt, after they had once ceased. For it was impossible, they thought, to sacrifice animals in a land that was impure by reason of its idolatry. Verbal messages were indeed sent from Jerusalem, committing the Government and the priests to very little, but no written document which could be shown as a proof that the desire of the Jewish-Aramaic community for the restoration of the temple was acceptable to the authorities. Whether the temple was actually rebuilt or not we do not know. If it were, it must have perished in the great Egyptian revolt about 400 B.C. when the Persians were driven out of Egypt, and a native king, Amyrtaeus, was once more set on the throne. It is noticeable that in a fragment of a letter of about that date mention is made of the massacre of a number of women and men, the first name among the latter being that of Jedoniah, the very leader of the Samaritan-Jewish community who had sent the letters to Jerusalem and Samaria. Dr van Hoonacker would find a possible reference to this calamity in *Joel* iii, 18.

Besides these general results, which have been gathered from the Lectures as a whole, many details are considered, often at some length. Among these may be mentioned the author's investigation of the relation between the words *Jahô* and *Jahvêh*. His conclusion is that the former was much the earlier word, and that the latter was derived from it in such a way as to convey a definite idea of God as the self-existent. "Pour signifier Dieu comme celui qui est, il n'y avait pas eu à créer de toutes pièces un mot nouveau. Il faut ici tenir compte de l'influence de la forme *Jahou*, *Jahô*, dont *Jahvêh* est un développement artificiel. C'est par une modification, une adaptation du nom *Jahou* préexistant, qu'une forme nouvelle fut forgée en vue de faire exprimer au nom divin l'idée d'être. La forme *Jahvêh* n'est pas le résultat d'une conjugaison régulière ou naturelle du *v. hirt*, elle est le résultat d'une transformation de *Jahou* sur le modèle de *Jehvêh*; ainsi s'explique-t-on la présence de la voyelle *e* dans la préformante, et du *v. hirt* à la place du *f* radical. Grâce à l'infinité des lettres *v. hirt* et *f* et à la fréquence des préformantes en *e* à l'imparfait, le sans linguistique des Hébreux leur permettait de reconnaître et d'admettre *Jahvêh* comme l'équivalent, quant à la signification, de *Jehvêh*, tout comme ils étaient capables de reconnaître au rapport entre le mot *Harvêh* et l'idée de *voir*

(Gen. iii. 20)\* (p. 71). Dr Hoonacker, we should add, has also drawn a sketch-map showing the relation in which the houses and lands mentioned in the documents stood to the temple, and has even ventured to give ground-plans and restorations of the temple itself. Altogether he has made an extremely interesting and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the colony at Elephantine.

A. LUTYN WILLIAMS

*Egypt—from 1798 to 1914.* By A. E. P. BROOME WEIGALL. pp. x+312. 9 Plates. London: Blackwood and Sons, 1915. 10s. 6d. net.

The Turkish overlordship in Egypt, which began on January 20, 1517 and ended on December 18, 1914, had never for long been undisputed, either by foreign powers, as France under Napoleon or by the actual rulers in Egypt itself, as Ali Bey in 1798 or Mohammed Ali during the last century.

One of the strangest facts concerning Egypt is that since Nectanebo II was conquered by the Persians in B.C. 340, no native ruler has arisen to guide the destinies of his country. Possibly, under the fostering care of the British Protectorate, in the distant future an Egyptian of the old stock may once more govern the land, though we hope the present Sultan may long be spared to continue the good work he has begun.

During that period of over two thousand years the only real native who succeeded in becoming the *de facto* ruler in Egypt was Ahmed Pasha Arabi—of fellah parentage—and he but for a few months.

The reader of Mr Weigall's preface to this book on Egypt during the last hundred years would hope that the fortunes of the people themselves, their habits, aspirations, mental powers and capabilities, would have been discussed, but, to one's great disappointment, the author tells only the story, graphically and well indeed, of the ephemeral stranger-governors of this ancient race.

The first of these, Napoleon Bonaparte, landed in Egypt, at the beginning of July, 1798, with the avowed objects of cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Suez, making the Red Sea a French possession, invading India, and, ultimately, carving out an Eastern Empire for himself. All real possibility of succeeding in these amazing designs was ended two months later by the defeat of his fleet by Nelson in Aboukir Bay on August 1, and his dreams of an Oriental Empire were shattered at Acre, as Napoleon himself said, by "that young fool," Sidney Smith, who had "spoiled his destiny."

The enduring results of this expedition were very different from those Napoleon had planned, though due to his foresight and largeness of mind in taking with him a well-equipped staff of scholars and artists. The work of these scientists remains embodied in the monumental *Description de l'Égypte*, a record of the utmost importance to all Egyptologists. We owe also, to the interest in ancient Egypt aroused by Napoleon in the minds of his officers, the discovery of the broken black basalt slab known as the "Rosetta stone." It was found by an artillery officer, named Bouchard, among the ruins of Fort St Julien near the Rosetta mouth of the Nile. In 1801 it passed into the possession of the English and was sent to London in the following year. This, as all know, led to the decipherment of the hieroglyphic language.

The next great figure in Egyptian history is Mohammed Ali, whose career was extraordinary. Born in 1769, the same year as Napoleon and Wellington, at Cavalla, a seaport town of Thrace, of an Albanian father, a fisherman and small landowner, Mohammed as a child, on the death of his father, was protected by the chief magistrates of the town, in whose household he was little better than a stable-boy. By turns a humble trader in tobacco, a volunteer tax-gatherer, and commander of the town-guard, he joined the army of the Sultan sent to Egypt in 1798 to fight Napoleon. On the defeat of the Turkish force by the French on the shores of Aboukir Bay, Mohammed Ali was saved from drowning by the gig of Sir Sidney Smith, the British Admiral, who had anchored his fleet there in order to help the Turkish army. Later he became the leader of a body of Albanian cavalry, and finally was placed in command of the whole Albanian contingent fighting with the British against the French.

By means of various intrigues, in which he was an adept, he became the governor of Egypt in 1805. Unscrupulous to a degree in the methods he used at all times to consolidate his position, his worst crime was the treacherous slaughter of the Mamelukes in 1811. Though the manner of their destruction was deplorable, yet the necessity of rooting out their tyrannous power from the country

was urgent. In spite of his absolute callousness as regards human life he, like President Diaz of Mexico under similar circumstances, possessed a genius for maintaining order in a rough and ready fashion, and, on the whole, his actions were inspired by the thought of what was good for his adopted country.

In time, Muhammed made himself master of the provinces of Syria, Aleppo and Damascus, and, but for the jealous rivalry of the then leading powers of Europe, would have made Egypt as great as it ever was during the time of the Ancient Egyptian Empire, and would, probably, have reorganized the whole of the near East. However, this was not to be, and in 1849 he died and was succeeded by, perhaps, the most prodigal ruler the country had ever endured, his son Ismail.

This man may be dismissed in a few sentences. He was a most consummate actor, and one hardly knows at which to wonder more, the clever way in which he managed to induce the European nations to consider him as an enlightened ruler and to lend him vast sums on the strength of that belief, or the senseless extravagance with which he wasted the money so gained. One result of his orgy of wasteful building has been the needless destruction of many an ancient site. Antinoë will serve as an illustration. After comparing the remains of this town in 1798, as shown by the illustrations given in Jomard's *Description de l'Égypte* with the photographs by Mr J. de M. Johnson in his admirable paper, *Antinoë and its Papyri*, in the pages of this *Journal* (Vol. 1, p. 168), on what was left of it in 1914, and remembering that most of the ruin was caused by the absolutely needless construction of powder-mills and factories, now derelict, from the stones of the Roman walls and temples during the reign of this princely spendthrift, and that this process went on all over Egypt, the archaeologist will be excused for wishing that Ismail had never been born.

Every man, even the feeblest, has his use. Tewfik, who succeeded Ismail in 1879, will be known chiefly to posterity as the ruler who by his weakness and cowardice allowed Arab's rebellion to come to a head. Still, in the wisdom of Providence, out of weakness cometh strength—sometimes, and Tewfik's unmanly timidity rendered necessary the British occupation of Egypt which brought about the regeneration of the country at our hands, and its final deliverance from the blighting influence of the Turk.

We will hope that Mr Weigall, having given us so readable a history of the rulers of Egypt during the last century, will sometime devote his powers to the writing of a book on the real Egyptians themselves, and the survivals of ancient customs and beliefs that exist among them.

F. G. WALKER.

*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes.* Vol. XLVII, 1914.

Although so recently bereaved of his brilliant son, M. Jean Maspero, and confronted with all the hindrances to printing and publishing arising from the war, Sir Gaston Maspero has produced another excellent number of the *Recueil* quite equal to those that Egyptologists have always looked forward to so much in peace time.

A very interesting essay in this number is by M. Hippolyte Roussac, upon the worship of the Egyptian Goddess Bast in Rome and Southern Italy. A summary of his researches appeared in the *C.R.* of the Académie des Inscriptions, but the article now printed gives additional evidence. This foreign deity, in Imperial times, possessed temples, and consequently votaries, at Rome, Ostia, Pompeii, Naples and Nemi. From the last site we have an inscription recording a list of gifts for the adorning of her cult statue, such as robes of green and of purple silk, and garments of fine linen dyed purple, also a golden, and other girdles, mantles, tunics and white vestments. At Ostia, a lady, bearing the curious name of Catilla Didora Bubastacea, offers to Isis and Bast jointly two beautiful and weighty golden diadems. The word Catilla is somewhat defaced but it is obviously the Roman gentle name *Catilla*, well known under the Empire. M. Roussac, apparently unaware of this fact, thinks that it is perhaps connected with the Cat-headed Bast (late Latin *catina*), and means "petite chatte." In ancient times Egyptian ladies frequently bore as their name that of the cat, which in their language was *sab* or *t-mis*. So, he thinks, apparently, an Egyptian living in Italy, or a Roman lady who was a devotee of the Cat-goddess might possibly adopt some such bastard name

as Catilia. But as the name is obviously a mere mistake for Catilia, his theory will not hold water.<sup>1</sup> M. Roussme gives an illustration of a picture found at Pompeii, showing a priest of Bast standing and holding a scroll manuscript opened for reciting. Behind him stands a stele, with a Cat on the summit, wearing on its head the *uref* headdress. The other instances of Bast worship in Italy are derived from lapidary inscriptions. She is almost always called Bubastia, as the name of her town was commonly used by the Greeks and Romans as that of the goddess herself.

Sir Gaston Maspero continues his description of the Egyptian antiquities in the Marseilles Museum; this time treating of the more important of the Sarcophagi. One of these, a large stone coffin, had been made and engraved for a certain Panesis, whose mother Tsontu is certified as having been "a respectable lady"; but subsequently usurped as the burial coffer for a man named Petosiris. The older owner Panesis held offices in numerous towns in Middle and Lower Egypt. One of the religious texts engraved for him is a version of the 72nd chapter of the "Book of the Dead." A passage is interesting because it so distinctly sets forth that when his son, as his funerary priest, offers the Meat Sacrifice, or Mummy's *Méow*, at his tomb, although the good things are offerings to the gods, Panesis depends upon their not absorbing them all but leaving portions "in order that I shall not perish of hunger." The text says: "When the son of my body celebrates a fête for me, give me my share ration of bread, drinks, beef, ducks, stuffs, and perfumes." This in his case is addressed to three special deities at the Hall of Judgement of Osiris as the written chapter is placed alongside a vignette of Panesi at the trial of Osiris facing three gods. The anxiety of the Egyptians that their spirits should be well fed after death enters into almost all the wording of the funerary inscriptions. Statues were placed in temples, and doubtless high prices paid to the shrine (or its priests) for permitting their presence, for the purpose of attracting the attention of worshippers, and of the priests participating in the daily worship, because they bore a text giving the person's name and asking readers to pray for them when offering service to the god. This request meant that when adoring, and offering all the provisions and luxuries of life to the Pharaoh, if it was a temple for worship of the deified reigning king, or to the God of that special temple, the officiant, or the adorer, should include in his prayer the name of the statue's once living representative. The god being thus reminded that this soul needed its daily food, the deity would then spare something for the spirit in the nether world.

This concept explains why all ritual service looks for offering assigned to the god thousands of every article of food and comestibles. The deity could not personally consume them, but thousands of the faithful dead had to be fed upon "the crumbs that fell from the rich god's table" so to speak. Hence the apparent prodigality in the quantity of the provisions, of which specimens only were offered at the altar: assigned by the literary rubrics recited by the priest at each function when they were presented.

Notwithstanding the bitterness produced by the conduct of German savants, the editor has printed two long memoirs by Professor Spiegelberg and Herr Hermann Kees.

A long essay by Mrs Alice Graefell in English gives her views of the meaning of the much-used *Ka* symbol when placed upon scarabs. The time expended upon this essay must have been very prolonged, for the majority of the scarabs referred to are in private, or little known collections, and the authoress adds drawings of their symbols. The meanings of mystic character given to the *Ka* symbol as used in these scarab texts, are nearly all novel. Sentiments are detected as being expressed in them, that would not occur to the thought of ordinary Egyptologists. It is possible that, in many cases, they are those intended to be expressed by the ancient scribes. The *esoteric* methods are very similar among mystics of all ages, and the views of the writer of this essay may open up a new road to the appreciation of old Egyptian thought.

One paper in the *Revue* is by the late M. Jean Maspero. It is upon various Greek inscriptions found recently in Egypt. One of these is a record of a certain A. Tullius Ptolemaeus, a Strategus of Alexandria. He was also an Archidicaut and Eutheniarch of the professors at the city's Museum, and Neocorus of the Temple of Serapis.

JOSEPH OFFORD.

<sup>1</sup> That the name is a gentle name is shown by its position. If it were a nick-name, "little cha-cat," it could not come first. And "Catilia" could not mean that in any case.



## LIST OF PLATES

A NEW MONUMENT FROM COPTOS.		PAGE
Plate I.	Group of Wersu and Sit-Re . . . . .	5
Plate II.	Inscription on the back (A) . . . . .	6
Plate III.	Inscriptions on the sides (B, C) and front (D, E) . . . . .	6
A REMARKABLE BURIAL CUSTOM OF THE OLD KINGDOM.		
Plate IV.	Mud balls from Old Kingdom mastaba, Abydos . . . . .	8
AN INDIRECT REFERENCE TO SESOSTRIS III'S SYRIAN CAMPAIGN IN THE TOMB-CHAPEL OF DHWTY-HTP AT EL-BERSHEN.		
Plate V.	Part of a scene depicting Dhwti-htp, nomarch of the Hare Nome, presiding over the counting of his herds of cattle . . . . .	13
EDWARD AYRTON.		
Plate VI.	Edward Russell Ayrton . . . . .	20
Plate VII.	At Deir el-Bahri. Headquarters: Tomb of Ramesses IV. Cicero at Karnak . . . . .	22
LETTERS OF CHAMPOLLION LE JEUNE AND OF SEYFFARTH TO SIR WILLIAM GELL.		
Plate VIII.	Facsimile of first part of a letter from Champollion . . . . .	81
Plate IX.	Facsimile of second part of a letter from Champollion . . . . .	83
Plate X.	Facsimile of part of a letter from Champollion . . . . .	84
Plate XI.	Facsimile of part of a letter from Seyffarth . . . . .	86
THE ART OF THE PRÆDYNASTIC PERIOD.		
Plate XII.	Fig. 1. Ox, modelled in clay, from El Amrah. Fig. 2. Bowl, decorated with hippopotami, from El Maharna. Fig. 3. Ivory figurine, from El Maharna. Fig. 4. Part of ivory figure of a dog, from Hierakonpolis. (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) . . . . .	90
Plate XIII.	Fig. 1. Ivory statuette, a crouching captive, from Hierakonpolis. Fig. 2. Black incised pottery with decoration in imitation of basket-work. Fig. 3. Vase-decoration. From de Morgan. Fig. 4. Gold-leaf with incised designs, sewn on to one end of a large flint knife to form a handle. (Cairo Museum) . . . . .	92
Plate XIV.	Slate Palette. British Museum and Ashmolean fragments juxtaposed. <i>Recto</i> . . . . .	93
Plate XV.	Slate Palette. British Museum and Ashmolean fragments juxtaposed. <i>Verso</i> . . . . .	94
LETTERS TO SIR WILLIAM GELL FROM HENRY SALT, [SIR] J. G. WILKINSON AND BARON VON BUNSEN.		
Plate XVI.	Facsimile of portion of letter from Henry Salt . . . . .	138
Plate XVII.	A page of scattered notes (untranscribed) with the first Wilkinson letter . . . . .	142
Plate XVIII.	First page of the second Wilkinson letter, with copy of the Begig Obelisk . . . . .	148
Plate XIX.	Page of the second Wilkinson letter, with copy of the Karnak Tablet . . . . .	152
Plate XX.	Last page of the fourth Wilkinson letter . . . . .	164
Plate XXI.	Page of first Bunsen letter, and signature . . . . .	166
Journ. of Egypt. Arch. II.		35







## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

	Reviewed by	PAGE
Aegean Archaeology. H. R. Hall . . . . .	D. G. Hogarth.	47
Amulets illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College, London. W. M. Flinders Petrie . . . . .	P. E. Newberry.	189
A History of Persia. P. M. Sykes . . . . .	J. Wells.	255
A Pilgrim's Scrip. R. Campbell Thompson . . . . .	F. G. Walker.	131
A Short History of the Egyptian People. E. A. Wallis Budge . . . . .	A. H. Sayce.	48
Carchemish, Part I. C. Leonard Woolley and T. E. Laurence . . . . .	E. Naville.	129
Egypt—from 1798-1914. A. E. P. Brome Weigall . . . . .	F. G. Walker.	263
Egyptian Myth and Legend. D. A. Mackenzie . . . . .	A. W. A. Leeper.	130
Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum. E. A. Wallis Budge . . . . .	E. Naville.	45
Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society . . . . .	L. W. King.	50
L'Égypte monumentale et pittoresque. Camille Lagier . . . . .	F. G. Walker.	51
Myths of Babylonia and Assyria. D. A. Mackenzie . . . . .	A. W. A. Leeper.	130
Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes 1915 . . . . .	J. Offord.	264
Studien zur Ägyptischen Verwaltungsgeschichte in ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit. Der <i>Βουλαική γραμματεία</i> . E. Biedermann . . . . .	J. G. Milne.	49
Sumerian Records from Drehem. W. M. Nesbit . . . . .	L. W. King.	190
The Ancient East. D. G. Hogarth . . . . .	L. W. King.	258
The Dawn of History. J. L. Myres . . . . .	H. R. Hall.	127
The Excavations at Babylon. E. Koldewey . . . . .	A. W. A. Leeper.	190
The Golden Bough: Adonis, Attis, Osiris, Studies in the History of Oriental Religion. J. G. Frazer . . . . .	A. H. Gardiner.	121
The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians. E. A. Wallis Budge . . . . .	A. H. Sayce.	48
The Migration of Early Culture. G. Elliot Smith . . . . .	W. H. R. Rivers.	256
The Ritual of the Mystery of the Judgement of the Soul. M. W. Blackden . . . . .	H. R. Hall.	52
The Rock-Tombs of Meir, Part I. A. M. Blackman . . . . .	H. R. Hall.	193
The Samsen-Saga and its place in Comparative Religion. A. Stryke Palmer . . . . .	L. W. King.	49
The Temple of Dendûr. A. M. Blackman . . . . .	H. R. Hall.	194
The Tomb of Aménemhêt. A. H. Gardiner . . . . .	T. E. Peet.	260
Une Communauté Judéo-Araméenne à Éléphantine, en Égypte, aux VI <sup>e</sup> et V <sup>e</sup> siècles av. J.-C. A. van Hoonacker . . . . .	A. Lukyn Williams.	291

## INDEX

## A

- Abraham and Melchisedec, Apocryphal meeting on Mt. Tabor. Coptic Texts, S. GASELER, 32.
- Abydos, *Cimiteries of Abydos*, Pt. I, NAVILLE, PEET, HALL, HADDON, 235.
- " Coptic burying-place, PEET and LOAT, 35.
- " earthenware imitation of bronze kettle-pot and bowl, 39.
- " *Ibis-cemetery*, 1914, WHITTEMORE, 235.
- " Mud balls from mastaba at, 8.
- " Stelae with inscriptions from Abydos, PEET and LOAT, 34.
- Acta, Fayumic fragments of, GASCELE, LEYDERT and COPPIETERS, 24.
- Acts of Paul, VOUGLIS, FLANJON, 25.
- adobe, the Spanish word, derived from Arabic, in origin Coptic and Ancient Egyptian, 240.
- Aegean Archaeology, points of contact with Egyptian, HALL, PARKYN, DUBOIS, 241.
- Aegyptische Religion, ZIMMERMANN, reviewed by WIDEMANN, 245.
- Alexander in Egypt and some consequences, D. G. HOUGHTON, 53.
- Founded greatest port in the then world, 53.
- Journey to temple of Amun at Siwah, 57.
- Macedonian conquest opened Red Sea and Indian Ocean to European commerce, 60.
- Necessity for his assumed divinity, 59.
- Spent only one winter in Egypt, 53.
- Started a Romance, 53.
- Alexandrian librarians, list of, from Oxyrh. Pap., 96.
- Amenhotep IV's religious reform, KUNZ, 245.
- Amherst-Morgan papyri, CRUM, review of, F. NAC, 37.
- Amputation of leg from living bull-calf, 10.
- Amuletic ties,  and  as, JÉQUIER, 245.
- Anaphora of "James the Lord's brother," EHRHARDT, 28.
-  and  as amuletic ties, JÉQUIER, 245.
- Annual General Meeting, 44.
- Anthropological material found at Abusir el Melek, Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, 2nd Expedition, F. W. MÜLLER, 246.
- Antinoë, clothing, objects of daily use, mostly Christian period, 113.
- Antinoëpolis, E. KUNZ, 103.
- Anubis, mysterious symbol of, standing in alabaster cup in shrine at Lisht, 236.
- Apes, design of, on ivory seal from Platanos, Crete, 187.
- Aphroditopolis, 10th Nome, Up. Egypt, history of, from Egyptian to Arab period, H. GAUTHIER, 105.
- Apocalypse of John, Greek Apocryphal, NAC, 26.
- " of Shenoute, A. GRÖMMANN, 29.
- Apocrypha, Coptic, British Museum, review of, CRUM, 26.
- Apocryphal: *Christian Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 25.
- Apocryphal life of Blessed Virgin and hymns, von LEMM, 25.
- Apprentice system in Roman Egypt, W. L. WESTERMANN, 104.
- Archaeological Survey of Nubia 1907-8.
- Catalogue of graves and contents, C. M. Firth.
- Report on human remains, G. Elliot Smith, 235.
- Archaeology: *Ancient Egypt, Bibliography*, 1914-15, 248.
- " : *Christian Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 35.
- " : *Greco-Roman Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 114.
- Arithmetical writing tablets of Byzantine period, H. THOMPSON, 103.
- Arsinoë, murdered by Antony's orders, 3.
- Art: *Ancient Egypt, Bibliography*, 1914-15, 248.
- " : *Christian Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 35.
- Art of the Predynastic Period, The, T. E. PEET, 88.
- Classical and Egyptian art compared, 94.
- Colour and form, 89.
- Decorative value of early art, 88.
- Early date of, 88.
- Effective use of line in early art, 88.
- Objects in clay pottery, ivory, gold leaf and slate palettes, 90-93.
- Articles: *Greco-Roman Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 103.
- Ashur, Royal Tombs of XI to II cents. B.C. at, L. W. KUNZ, 242.
- Ashur, Royal Tombs at, 109.
- Assuan papyri, 6th cent., now in British Museum, H. L. BELL, 23.

## B

- Babylon as capital of Egypt, 37.
- Babylon in Egypt, A. J. BUTLER, 105.
- Babylon, " " reviewed by HARTMANN, 240.
- Babylon, *Excavations at*, 1915, *Preliminary Notice*, G. A. WAINWRIGHT, 302.

- BATES, OHIO, *The Name Osiris*, 207.  
 Bawit, fortified convent at, JEAN MARCENON, 35.  
 Beethus and Scarabs in Early Egypt, PENTHE, 250.  
 Begetting of children by the dead, representations of, WISSEMANN, 248.  
 BELL, H. I., *Bibliography*, 1913-14: Papyri, *Graeco-Roman Egypt*, 95.  
 Biblical: *Christian Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 24.  
 Biblical Greek Vocabulary, MOUTON and MILLMAN, 99.  
 Biblical Texts, British Museum, WESLEY, 24.  
     Corrections and notes on, VOX LEMM, 24.  
*Bibliography* 1914-15: *Ancient Egypt*, F. L. GRIFFITH, 234.  
     Art and Archaeology, 248.  
     Excavations, 234.  
     Foreign Relations, 240.  
     Geography, 240.  
     History, 238.  
     Law, 248.  
     Literature, 247.  
     Personal, 251.  
     Philology, 243.  
     Publication of Texts, 237.  
     Religion, 245.  
     Science, 246.  
*Bibliography* of 1913-14: *Christian Egypt*, S. GABELE, 24.  
     Apocryphal, 25.  
     Archaeology, 35.  
     Art, 35.  
     Biblical, 24.  
     Church Literature, 28.  
     Excavations, 35.  
     Gnostic, 25.  
     History, 31.  
     Legends, 31.  
     Liturgical, 26.  
     Miscellaneous, 27.  
     Non-Literary Texts, 33.  
     Philological, 34.  
*Bibliography*, 1913-14: INSCRIPTIONS, *Graeco-Roman Egypt*, M. N. TOD, 108.  
*Bibliography*, 1913-14: MISCELLANEOUS, *Graeco-Roman Egypt*, F. L. GRIFFITH, 113.  
     Archaeology, 114.  
     Explorations, 113.  
     History, 113.  
     Literary, 114.  
     Religion, 114.  
*Bibliography*, 1913-14: Papyri, *Graeco-Roman Egypt*, H. I. BELL, 95.  
     Articles, 103.  
     Lesser publications of non-literary texts, 102.  
     Literary texts, 95.  
     Monographs, 103.  
     Non-literary texts, 100.  
     Reviews, 103.  
 BLACKMAN, A. M., *An indirect reference to Senectus III's Syrian Campaign in the Tomb-Chapel of Dwyer-Her at El-Bersak*, 13.  
 Bohario homily on penitence, Vatican MS. 59, A.D. 918, CHATRE, 29.  
 Book of the Dead written for Ga-sushon, daughter of Menkheperre, Dyn. XXI, ED. NAVILLE, 238.  
 Bruce Papyrus, mathematics of (four-dimensional geometry), T. S. LEA, 26.

- Bunsen, Baron von, Letters to Sir William Gell, with facsimile, 164-167.  
*Burial custom of the Old Kingdom, a remarkable*, T. ERIC PEET, 8.  
 Burials of ibis and falcon mummies, 1st cent. A.C., 102.

C

- Callimachus, new fragments of, WILANOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, 97.  
 Canine hypogonum at Abydos, 39.  
 Cattle captured in Syrian campaign of Senectus III, BLACKMAN, 241.  
 Celt of nephrite, unusual material, O. BATES and J. WOLFF, 247.  
 Cemetery, XVIII Dynasty, at Sawana, near Akhmim, 236.  
     Hellenistic at Hadra, Thessalian and Cretan grave-stelae, 3rd and 2nd cents. A.C., 109.  
 Champollion le Jeune, find of letters from, in British Museum, 76.  
 Chemical and Alchemical papyrus, important, O. LAMERCHASTA, 97.  
 Chephren, portrait heads, life-size, from mastabas at Pyramid of, 236.  
 Chephren, Royal cemetery of, identified at Oltah, 186.  
 China biscuit porcelain and Merottic ware, A. H. SAYCE, 114, 243.  
 Christian Egypt, non-translated literature of, S. GABELE, 37.  
 Christian Nubian Texts, F. L. GRIFFITH, 35.  
 Christianity in Egypt, E. CHAUTARD, 37.  
 Chronology of Merce, revised scheme, GARSTANG, 234.  
 Chryselephantine figure of marvellous workmanship, in Boston Museum, supposed provenance Knossos, 187.  
 Church Literature: *Christian Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 28.  
 Circumcision, peculiar form of, among Massai, represented on early slate palettes, SELTMAN, 247.  
 Clap net for waterfowl, Egyptian, MONTET, 250.  
 Classical authors, extant, from Oxyrh. Papi, 98.  
 Cleopatra VI, J. P. MARIETTE, 1.  
     Pedigree of, 1.  
     Position at Rome as Caesar's mistress, 3.  
 Contracts concerning labour, *Graeco-Roman Egypt*, E. COSTA, 104.  
     private, *Graeco-Roman Egypt*, P. JONS, 104.  
 Coptic alphabet, names and values of, according to Church pronunciation, 16.  
     Apocrypha, British Museum review of, CICH, 26.  
     bodies from Antinoë, buried 400-500 A.D., M. A. ROYER, 28.  
     burying-place, Abydos, PEET and LOAT, 35.  
     Canticles, MEARES, 27.  
     censers, 36.  
     Church, present state, FARID EFFENDI KAMEL, 38.

- Coptic Church, history and present position, ADRIAN FORTESCUE, 38.  
 " grammar, REVELLOUT, 34.  
 " inscription on rocks of Wady Mokatteb, 34.  
 " Lord's Prayer in, with full transliteration, 19.  
 " magical prayer, W. HESSENBERG, 33.  
 " MSS, Paris, catalogue of, DELAPORTE, 37.  
 " MSS, Pierpont Morgan collection, HYVERNAT, 37.  
 " names on Jebel Moussa, 34.  
 " ostraca from Wady Sarga, 35.  
 " pronunciation of, in the Church in Egypt, 15.  
 " stuffs, reproductions in colours, E. HESSLING, 36.  
 " Texts, Apocryphal meeting of Abraham and Melchisedec on Mt Tabor, S. GASELER, 32.  
*Coptos, a New Monument from*, F. L. GRIFFITH, 5.  
 Coptos, damaged tablet from, 237.  
 COWLEY, A. E., *Notes on Hebrew Papyrus Fragments from Oxyrhynchus*, 209.  
 Cretan small stone idol from Platanos, 187.  
 Crete, rich treasure from tomb at Platanos, 187.  
 Cult of goddess Bubastis along with Isis in South Italy, BOUSSAC, 240.  
 Cult of SS. Cyrus and John at Abukir, WIEDERMANN, 31.  
 Currency, Egyptian, J. G. MILNE, 105.  
 Curses on violators of tombs, 6.  
 Customs, etc., of African tribes parallel to Ancient Egyptian, PETRIE, 243.  
 Cylinder seals, inscriptions on twenty-eight, from Blanchard collection, 237.

## D

- Dancoos, Egyptian profane, VAL GROSS, 250.  
 Dating clause under Heraclitus, H. I. BELL, 106.  
 Decian libell, with translation and full bibliography, LEUBROCK, 23.  
 Decree of Neferkauhor from Coptos, 237.  
 Demotic contracts from Gebelen, SPIEGELBERG, 103.  
 Demotic papyrus (Pap. 215 of Bibliothèque Nationale), SPIEGELBERG, 235.  
 Dendûr, Temple at, Blackman, reviewed by HALL and BREASTED, 235.  
 Derr, Temple at, Blackman, reviewed by HALL and BREASTED, 235.  
 Dhwtj-Htp, Tomb-chapel of, at El-Bersheh, 13.  
*Did Menephtah invade Syria?* ED. NAVILLE, 195.  
 Didascalia, French translation of Ethiopic, FRASCON, 51.

## E

- Earthenware imitation of bronze kettle-pot and bowl, Abydos, 39.  
*Edward Ayrton*, H. B. HALL, 20.  
 Work at Abydos, 21, 23.  
 " Deir el-Bahari, 22.  
 " Biban el-Muluk, 22.  
 " El-Mahasna, 23.  
 Director of Archaeology in Ceylon, 22.  
 Work at ruins of Anuradhapura, 23.  
 E.E.F., Lectures in London, 1914-15, 49, 185.

- Egypt and Roman Empire, relations between, under Saracen Dominion, E. W. BATSON, 30.  
 " Barial customs compared with those of Mesopotamia, 169.  
 " Historic sketch of use of metals in, PETRIE, 247.  
 " Judicial procedure in, 173.  
 " Place-names of, J. MASPERO and G. WERT, 104.  
 " Prefects of, from Theodosius I (A.D. 395) to the Saracen Conquest, L. CANTARELLI, 30.  
 " Pronunciation of Coptic in Church of, 15.  
 " Stone Age in, PETRIE, 240.  
 Egyptian and Iranian funerary ideas and practices, J. LAMBERTON MOUL, 246.  
 Egyptian army, Ancient, H. M. THIRARD, 229.  
 A militia in early times, 230.  
 Chariots instead of cavalry, 231.  
 Colours, 232.  
 Commissariat, 2000 B.C., 230.  
 Mercenaries, 231.  
 Mobilised in four Divisions, 231.  
 Officers, 231.  
 Transports, 232.  
 " Art, origin and nature of, SCHÄFER, 248.  
 Egyptian Art, *Prædynastic period*, T. E. PEET, 88.  
 " Biblical versions in their influence on the Greek MSS, H. C. HOWLER, 25.  
 " Blue, LAURIE, MCINTOCK, and MILNE, 247.  
 " clap net for waterfowl, MOSTET, 250.  
 " clerical document, A.C. 251, 102.  
 " collection in Manchester Museum, CROMPTON, 248.  
 " currency, J. G. MILNE, 105.  
 " dictionary, Berlin, progress during 1914, 243.  
 " funeral ceremony, an ancient, WAGGALL, 10.  
 " Funerary monuments, foreign influence on, G. ELLIOT SMITH, 240.  
 " geographical names, J. MASPERO and G. WERT, 240.  
 " Hieroglyphic writing, lecture by GARDINER, 244.  
 " Liturgies, Schermann, review of, HERB, 26.  
 " monasticism between A.D. 451 and 641, P. VAN CAUWENBERGH, 31.  
 " monasticism possibly founded on *skētois* of Serapeum at Memphis, 31.  
 " polyglot (Ethiopic, Syriac, Bohairic, Arabic, Armenian), NAV, 25.  
 " profane dances, VAL GROSS, 250.  
 " proper names, HOFFMANN, 243.  
 " (ancient) religion, references to in pagan and patristic writers, Zimmermann, BODEN and WIEDERMANN, 29.  
 " sculpture; a group in limestone, WERN and SIL-RE, 5.  
 " weights, J. A. DEODERIKMAKINGH, 103.  
 El Amarna tablets, notes on, KRUDTZEK, SCHROEDER, 241.  
 Epitaphs, seven painted, Shabti, 109.  
 Epitaphs, two, on grave-stelae, Shabti, 109.  
 Erkowit, Eastern Soudan, undescribed monuments near, 178.  
 Ethiopic MSS, having ultimate Egyptian origin, GILBERT, 22.

- Ethiopic MSS., having ultimate Egyptian origin, CHALISE, 33.  
 Ethiopic orders of confirmation, marriage and extreme unction, CHALISE, 28.  
 Ethiopic Qalmentou, GHERAULT, 26.  
 Excavation tackle, improvements in, MOND, 230.  
 Excavations: *Ancient Egypt, Bibliography*, 1914-15, 234.  
 Excavations at Alexandrian necropolis, Shabti, E. BRACCIA, 103.  
 Excavations at Balabish: *Preliminary notice*, G. WAINWRIGHT, 202.  
 Alabaster vase, woman shaped, 203.  
 Ball bead of dark blue clear glass, 203.  
 Beads threaded on finely cut leather, 203.  
*Bugelmann*, 203.  
 Eighteenth Dynasty cemetery, 202.  
 Leather, dyed red, stitched into rugs or cloaks, 203.  
 Leather work and bone implements, 202.  
 Lip-stud, 202.  
 Net-bag of elephant's hair, 203.  
 New Kingdom cemetery, 202.  
 Pan-graves, cylindrical wells, 202.  
 Pottery, red polished plain and with black rings, 203.  
 Raw-hide wrist guards, 203.  
 Sandal, with upper worn on, 203.  
 Excavations at Harit (Theadelphia), E. BRACCIA, 118.  
 " " Isht, 1913-14, 236.  
 " " Riqesh, 1913, 236.  
 " " Sawana, near Akhmim, 236.  
 " " Theadelphia, 236.  
 Excavations: *Christian Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 35.  
 Exodus, the route of the, V. L. TRUMPER, 241.  
 Explorations: *Greco-Roman Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 113.

F

- Fayûm, Excavations at Theadelphia, 236.  
 Fish-symbol in Christianity originated in ancient Egypt, MAHLER, 245.  
 Flint knife, predynastic age, with carved ivory handle, in the Louvre, BÉSGOTTE, 249.  
 Foreign Relations: *Ancient Egypt, Bibliography*, 1914-15, 240.  
 Fortified convent at Bawit, JEAN MARPÉRO, 35.  
*Funeral Ceremony, an ancient Egyptian*, A. E. P. B. WEDGALL, 10.

G

- GARDINER, A. H., *The Nature and Development of the Egyptian Hieroglyphic Writing*, 61.  
 GARDINER, A. H., *The Tomb of Ankhnesneferibre*, 237.  
 GARDINER, S., *Bibliography*, 1913-14: *Christian Egypt*, 24.  
 Gell, Sir W., correspondence with early Egyptologists, 78.  
 Gensals XL and xli. Two leaves of Scidie, from Cairo Museum, H. MUYER, 24.  
 Geography: *Ancient Egypt, Bibliography*, 1914-15, 240.  
 Gizeh, Excavations near Great Pyramid, JORKEB, 237.

- Gizeh, Reisner's excavations at, 1913-14, 189.  
 Gnostic amulets, W. M. P. PERIER, 114.  
 Gnostic: *Christian Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 26.  
 Gnosticism, de Faye's work on, EASTON, 29.  
 Goddess of Amentis upon seal of treaty between Hattusil II and Ramesses II, 241.  
 Gospels and Acts, primitive text, A. C. CLARK, 100.  
 Gospel-Apocrypha in Oriental languages, HANSE, GHERAULT, 25.  
 " " survey of, for English readers, L. ST. A. WELLS, 25.  
 Graeco-Coptic Gospel fragments, Heer's bilingual, S. COLOMBO, 24.  
 Graffiti, scratched or painted, temple of Hatsheput, Dâr-el-Bahri, 111.  
 " three, on cinerary urns, Shabti, 109.  
 Graffito on hypostyle hall, Karnak, 110.  
 Greek and Demotic letter, about mummy buried at Panoplia, SEIDENBERG, 103.  
 Greek Apocryphal *Apocalypse of John*, NAD, 26.  
 GRENFELL, ALICE, *The Seacott Collection of Queen's College, Oxford*, 217.  
 GRIFFITH, F. L., *A New Monument from Coptos*, 5.  
 GRIFFITH, F. L., *Bibliography*, 1914-15: *Ancient Egypt*, 234.  
 GRIFFITH, F. L., *Bibliography*, 1913-14: *Miscellaneous, Greco-Roman Egypt*, 113.  
 GRIFFITH, F. L., Note on "An Ancient Egyptian Funeral Ceremony," 11.

H

- HALL, H. R., *Letters of Champollion le Jeune and of Senfuth to Sir William Gell*, 76.  
 HALL, H. R., *Letters to Sir William Gell from Henry Salt, [Sir] J. G. Wilkinson, and Baron von Bunsen*, 133.  
 Hammered bronze portrait of Nefertiti at Cairo, 249.  
*Hat*, name of silver in Hittite texts borrowed from Egyptiana, 241.  
 Hebrew papyri already published, list of, 209.  
*Hebrew Papyrus Fragments from Oxyrhynchus, Notes on*, A. E. COWLEY, 209.  
 Hellenion Oxyrhynchia, Walker, reviews by, M. GELSER and W. BAUER, 98.  
 Hesy, Dyn. III, relief portraits on wood of, at Cairo, 249.  
 Hieroglyphic inscriptions, B. M. publication, Pt. 7, 116.  
 Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae in British Museum, 237.  
*Hieroglyphic writing*, A. H. GARDINER, 61.  
 Allusive employment of signs, 65.  
 Phonograms, 65.  
 Biliteral signs, 67.  
 Early translators of, 61, 62.  
 Greatest consistency in spelling during Middle Kingdom, 63.  
 Hieroglyphs on slate palette of Narmer, 72.  
 Influence of language on evolution of hieroglyphic script, 64.  
 Inscriptions frequent from IIIrd Dynasty time, 62.  
 Picture-signs or ideograms, 63.  
 Popular conception of, 61.  
 Triliteral signs, 69.  
 Unilateral or alphabetic signs, 67.

- History: *Ancient Egypt, Bibliography*, 1914-15, 238.  
 " : *Christian Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 31.  
 " : *Græco-Roman Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 113.  
 HOGARTH, D. G., *Alexander in Egypt and some consequences*, 123.  
 Hierapollon, papyrus, Beaugé Collection, relating to, J. MARIÉRO, 102.  
 Horus, hawk's eye as hieroglyph for the eye of, TURABIEFF, 245.  
 Hymns au Nil, new parallel fragment to, GRAPOW, 244.

## I

- Imhotep, mastaba of, at Lisht, 236.  
 In breeding of cattle. See Note 1.  
 Inscription at Kom el-Akhdar, Jewish community in Delta, between 143 and 117 B.C., 109.  
 " from Antinoë (Sheikh Abada), 110.  
 " from Gebel Shiekh el-Hakdi, opening of a quarry, SPIEGELBERG, 103.  
 " in British Museum from tomb at Hermonthis, 244.  
 " on limestone stele, Herakleopolis (Ahnes el-Medina), 41 B.C. Latest decree of Cleopatra VI, 116.  
 " on statue-group of Weseu and Sit-Ba, from Coptos, 5, 6.  
 Inscriptions: *Græco-Roman Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 108.  
 " graffiti, stamps, in Siegf. Collection, 111.  
 " hieroglyphic, E. M. publication, Part v, 116.  
 " on coffins in Marseilles Museum, 237.  
 " on twenty-eight early cylinder seals from Blanchard Collection, 237.  
 " on vases, Shabti, 109.  
 " votive, from Philadelphia (Girzeh), 63 A.D., 109.  
 Intermarriage of first cousins, FRANK DARWIN, 1.  
 Ivory seal bearing design of two apes from Platanos, Crete, 187.

## J

- Jéme texts, Crum-Steindorff, review of, CARE SCHMIDT, 33.  
 Jewish community and Yahwe temple at Elephantine, HOONACKER, 242.  
 Judicial procedure in Egypt, 173.  
 Justinian, word-index to Novellæ of, WESTER, 106.

## K

- Kerna, Excavations at, 1913-14, HEUSER, 235.  
 Burials accompanied by sacrificed slaves, 235.  
 Burial places of Egyptian officials, 235.  
 Inscription of Amenemhet III, 235.  
 Occupied by VI Dynasty Egyptians, and from Sesostri I to end of Hyksos period, 235.  
 Kharu, the land of the Horites, the Biblical Edom, 109.  
 KING, L. W., *Royal Tombs in Mesopotamia and Egypt: a Comparison suggested by some Recent Discoveries*, 168.  
 Kings of Middle Kingdom, study and classification of, WELLS, 239.

## L

- Lamps from Fayoum with Resurrection symbols, 36.  
 Law: *Ancient Egypt, Bibliography*, 1914-15, 242.  
 Leases of houses and buildings, Græco-Roman Egypt, A. HERZER, 104.  
 Legends: *Christian Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 31.  
 Letters from:  
 Baron von Bunsen, with facsimiles, to Sir William Gell, 164-167.  
 Champollion le Jeune, with facsimiles, to Sir William Gell, 81-86.  
 Henry Salt, with facsimiles, to Sir William Gell, 138-140.  
 D. G. Seyffarth, with facsimiles, to Sir William Gell, 86.  
 [Sir] J. G. Wilkinson, with facsimiles, to Sir William Gell, 141-164.  
 With prefaces by H. R. HALL, 76, 133.  
*Letters of Champollion le Jeune and of Seyffarth to Sir William Gell*, H. R. HALL, 76.  
*Letters to Sir William Gell from Henry Salt, [Sir] J. G. Wilkinson and Baron von Bunsen*, H. R. HALL, 133.  
 Leyden Stelæ of New Kingdom, BOSSER, reviewed by MARIÉRO, 239.  
 Libelli, Decian, with translation and full bibliography, LECHECQ, 38.  
 Lisht, excavations at, 1913-14, 239.  
 Lisht, pyramid-town at, 41.  
 Literary Texts: *Græco-Roman Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 93, 114.  
 Literature: *Ancient Egypt, Bibliography*, 1914-15, 247.  
 Liturgical: *Christian Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 26.  
 Liturgies, Egyptian, Schermann, review of, HZER, 20.  
 Lord's Prayer in Coptic with full transliteration, 19.

## M

- M, words with prefixed, memoir on the formation of, GRAPOW, 243.  
 Macedonian lunar year, 102.  
 Magic power of pictures, WIEGEMANN, 246.  
 Magical prayer, Coptic, W. HENGSTENBERG, 33.  
 MAHAFFY, J. P., *Cleopatra VI*, 1.  
 Manuscripts, Coptic, Paris, Catalogue of, DELAFORTE, 37.  
 Map of gold mines in Ramesside Papyrus at Turin, A. H. GARDNER, 240.  
 MARGOLIOU, D. S., *Notes on Syrian Papyri Fragments from Oxyrhynchus*, 212.  
 Marmarica, geography of coast, 113.  
 Maspero, Jean, obituary note, 119.  
 Mastabas of VI Dynasty near Great Pyramid containing portrait-statues and portrait-heads, 237.  
 Mathematics (four-dimensional geometry) of Bruce Papyrus, T. S. LEE, 26.  
 Medical papyrus, 3rd cent. B.C., G. A. GERHARD, 97.  
 Metr, The Rock Tombs of, Pls I and II, BLACKMAN, 237.  
 Menander, arguments of plays, 65.  
 Menephtah invade Syria, Did I ED. NAVILLE, 195.

- Memphis, Palace of, discovered at Memphis by Eckley B. Coxe, 223.  
 Menologia of Coptic Church, NAU, 27.  
 Merneptah, chronology of, revised scheme, GASTARD, 234.  
 " excavations, 1912-13, 113.  
 " fifth interim report Liverpool excavations, 1913-14, 234.  
 " shrine at, PRITCHARD-ADAMS, 234.  
 " supposed observatory at, 234.  
 " two great stelae, 234.  
 Merutic ware and black porcelain in China, A. H. SAYCE, 243.  
 Mesopotamia, Royal Tombs at Ashur, 169.  
 Metals in Egypt, historic sketch of use of, PETRIE, 247.  
 Minocan chryselephantine figure of marvellous workmanship, supposed provenance Knowson, 187.  
 Miscellaneous: *Christian Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 37.  
 " : *Græco-Roman Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 113.  
 Monographs: *Græco-Roman Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 102.  
 Monument from Coptos, *A New*, F. LE GRIFFITH, 5.  
 Mud balls from mastaba at Abydos, 8.  
 Mud balls from mastaba at Begagna, 9.  
 Mummy labels, Ontario Museum, W. S. FOX, 103.  
 Mummy labels, two bilingual in Ontario Museum, 238.  
 Mummy tablets and Greek labels, Berlin, G. MÖLLER, 103.  
 Munich Papyri, Vol. I, 6th cent. Syene, A. HEISENBERG and L. WESHER, 101.  
 Mutilated calf at funeral ceremony, representations of, in New Kingdom Theban Tombs, 10.  
 Myra, T. L., *Dawn of History*, reviewed by HALL, 238.

N

- NAVILLE, ED., *Did Monophthick invade Syria?* 195.  
 Necropolis of Alexandria, at Shabti, 100.  
 Seven painted epitaphs.  
 Three graffiti on cinerary urns.  
 Two epitaphs of grave-stelae.  
 Two vase inscriptions.  
 Neferkara, portrait of in hammered bronze, at Cairo, 240.  
 Nekhtshebi, the last of the Pharaohs, 238.  
 Nesyamut, Tomb of Queen, robbed. Her name otherwise unknown: Papyrus Mayer A, 177.  
 Nigeria, influence in, of Christian Nubia, FAHRENHUS, 31.  
 Night-jar, prehistoric ivory carving of, 247.  
 Nimbus, square, controversy, von DÖNCHOW, 38.  
 Non-Literary Texts: *Christian Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 33.  
 Non-translated literature of Christian Egypt, S. GABRIEL, 37.  
 Novellae of Justinian, word-index to, WESHER, 106.  
 Nubia, Kenu country, place-names, songs, genealogies, JUCKER, 38.

O

- Oath formula of Arab period, H. I. BELL, 106.  
 Oath used in Egypt after Saracen Conquest, 33.

- Obituaries of Egyptologists, 251.  
 E. Amelineau.  
 E. R. Ayrton.  
 Theodore M. Davis.  
 K. T. Frost.  
 E. Grébaut.  
 K. Hoffmann.  
 Jean Maspero.  
 F. Rosch.  
 C. J. Spurrill.  
 J. H. Walker.  
 Obituary of Mr James Dixon, 234.  
 Okapi, suggested representation of, from Tarkhan, WEIDEMANN, 247.  
 Osiris as the corn god, Frazer's *Golden Bough*, Adams, Attis and Osiris, reviewed by A. H. GARDINER, 245.  
 Ostraca, *The Name*, ORIC BATES, 207.  
 Corn-spirits, names of, in North Africa and Bulgaria, 207.  
 Potus of the name Osiris, 208.  
 Palestinian Arab custom of burying sheaf of wheat, 207.  
 Spirit of Vegetation, 207.  
 Ostraca, Coptic, from Wady Sarga, 35.  
 Ostrakon containing dispute about a private shrine, J. G. MILNE, 103.  
 " from Thebes with signs and dots interpreted as names of boats and tally numbers of their loads, 238.  
 Oxyrhynchus papyri, 95, 96.  
 Oxyrhynchus Papyri (Biblical), GREENFELD and HUNT, 25.  
 " Papyri, Part V, GREENFELD and HUNT, 95.  
 " Papyri, Part XI, chief contents of, 184.  
 " Superintendents of food at, 42.

P

- Paganism and Christianity in Egypt, Scott-Moncrieff, review of, H. R. HALL, 28.  
 Palermo Stone:  
 Notes on by Gauthier.  
 " " Maspero.  
 " " Newberry and Wainwright.  
 " " F. W. Read.  
 " " Sethe, 239.  
 Papyri, Amherst-Morgan, Crum, review of, F. NAU, 37.  
 " from Assuan, 6th cent., now in British Museum, H. I. BELL, 33.  
 " from Oxyrhynchus, 95, 96.  
 " : *Græco-Roman Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 95.  
 " Hebrew, list of already published (1915), 309.  
 " literary, from Antinoë, J. DE M. JONSSON, 106.  
 " Oxyrhynchus (Biblical), GREENFELD and HUNT, 25.  
 " Texts, Società Italiana publications, 96.  
 Papyrology, A. S. HUNT, 107.  
 Papyrus Abbott, tomb-robberies in reign of Ramesses IX, 174.

- Papyrus Bruce, mathematics of (four-dimensional geometry), T. S. LEE, 26.  
 " Demotic (pap. 215 of Bibliothèque Nationale), SPIEGELBERG, 238.  
*Papyrus Fragments, Hebrew, from Oxyrhynchus*, A. E. COWLEY, 202.  
 " Fragments, Syriac, from Oxyrhynchus, 214.  
 " Freiburg, dedication of Alexander, 96.  
 " Harris A, names of tomb-robbes, 174.  
 " Mayer A, description of, 174.  
 " " B, " 204.  
*Papyrus Mayer A, The great Tomb-Robberies of the Ramesside Age*, T. E. PRET, 173.  
*Papyrus Mayer B, The great Tomb-Robberies of the Ramesside Age*, T. E. PRET, 204.  
 " Ramesside, giving map of gold mines, A. H. GARDINER, 240.  
 " unique funerary, true hieratic of Middle Kingdom, CHAPMAN, 245.  
 Paraetionium, port for Oases of Ammon, at Mersa Matruh, 113.  
 Patristic quotations, Timothy Aslurus, Armenian version, F. C. CONYBEARE, 30.  
 PRET, T. E., *A remarkable Burial Custom of the Old Kingdom*, 8.  
 PRET, T. E., *The Art of the Predynastic Period*, 88.  
 PRET, T. E., *The great Tomb-Robberies of the Ramesside Age, Papyrus Mayer A and B*.  
 1. *Papyrus Mayer A*, 173.  
 2. " *B*, 204.  
 Permit to leave Egypt, Roman period, 100.  
 Péro, Egyptian word Pharaoh, surviving among the Bisharin, HERR, 242.  
 Personal: *Ancient Egypt, Bibliography*, 1914-15, 251.  
 Perspective, tendencies to, on reliefs of Old Kingdom, L. KLENA, 248.  
 Philological: *Christian Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 34.  
 Philology: *Ancient Egypt, Bibliography*, 1914-15, 248.  
 " Phoenician" alphabet, absence of vowels in, attributed to Egyptian origin, SCHAFER, 242.  
 Pitch or bitumen in mummification, A. LUCAS, 247.  
 Place-names of Egypt, J. MARECH and G. WIEY, 104.  
 Platanus, Grete, rich treasure from tomb at, Dr S. KANTHOUDIDES, 187.  
 Porphyrogenitum in Ptolemaic dynasty, 2.  
 Portrait-heads, life-size, from mastabas at Pyramid of Chefred, 236.  
 Prefects of Egypt, from Theodosius I (A.D. 395) to the Saracen Conquest, L. CANTARELLI, 30.  
 Princess of Negro type, portrait-head of, from mastabas at Pyramid of Chefred, 236.  
*Pronunciation of Coptic in the Church of Egypt*, The, G. P. G. SORBY, 15.  
 Ptolemaic dynasty, porphyrogenitum in, 2.  
 Publication of Texts: *Ancient Egypt, Bibliography*, 1914-15, 237.  
 Pyramid of Sesostris at Lisht, excavations at, 236.  
 Pyramid-town at Lisht, 41.

## Q

- Qalmentes, Ethiopic, GARDNER, 20.

## R

- Ramesside Age, The great Tomb-Robberies of the, Papyrus Mayer B*, T. E. PRET, 204.  
 Ranefer, Vth Dyn., statue of, at Cairo, 249.  
 Recent Publications, notices of, 45, 120, 190, 235.  
 Relief portraits on wood of Hehy, Dyn. III., at Cairo, 249.  
 Religion: *Ancient Egypt, Bibliography*, 1914-15, 246.  
 " : *Græco-Roman Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 114.  
 "Reserve-heads," Reissner's excavations at Giza, 1913-14, 183.  
 Reviews: *Græco-Roman Egypt, Bibliography*, 1913-14, 102.  
 Riqqeh, excavations at, 1913, 230.  
 Roman Egypt, apprenticeship system in, W. L. WESTERMANN, 104.  
 Roman mining camp, G. W. MURRAY, 247.  
*Royal Tombs in Mesopotamia and Egypt: A Comparison suggested by some Recent Discoveries*, L. W. KING, 168.  
 Andra's discoveries at Ashur in 1903, 169.  
 Assyrian mugged vaults and massive stone sarcophagi, a parallel to early Egyptian practice, 172.  
 Contracted burial, custom both in Egypt and Mesopotamia, 170.  
 Dry climate of Egypt preserved ancient burials, 168.  
 Egyptian appearance of sarcophagi at Ashur, 170.  
 Five Royal Tombs at Ashur, with sarcophagi of basalt and limestone, 169.  
 Ishtar, temple of, dated third millennium B.C., 169.  
 Koldewey's mistaken assertion as to cremation in Mesopotamia, 168.  
 Literary evidence that cremation was not the custom in Babylonia and Assyria, 168.  
 Reed-mat burials in both Egypt and Mesopotamia, 170.  
 Sarcophagi of Ashur-bê-kala, Ashur-nasir-pal III, and Shamai-Adad, 169.  
 Sculpture of non-Semitic men at Ashur, 169.  
 Suggested use of great temple-towers in Mesopotamia, 170.  
 Terror of the dead in Mesopotamia, 171.  
 Rubbing of feet in repose, custom in Ancient and Modern Egypt, WESTERMANN, 247.

## S

- Sacrificed slaves at burials of Egyptian officials at Kertu, 235.  
 Sallie Acta, Vienna parchment MS., WESSLEY, 24.  
 " Genesis xl, xli, II, MCNER, 24.  
 " Gospels, Horner's, BOESCH, 24.  
 " O.T. texts, Schleifer's last collection, CHUM, 24.  
 " text, homily of Severus of Antioch, PORCHER, 30.

- Sac'dic texts, British Museum; Coptic Martyrdoms, RUDIG, 31.
- St Athanasius, Life of, BARBY, 29.
- St Clement, H. B. TOLLISTON, 29.
- St Clement, Croall Lectures, J. PATRICK, 29.
- Salt, Henry, letters to Sir William Gell, with facsimiles, 128-140.
- Sammelbuch, Part 3, PENNICK, 101.
- Sappho, fragments of, 93.
- Saqqa, excavations at, 1913-14, QUISSELL, 236.
- Sawana, near Akhmim Cemetery, XVIIIth Dyn., 230.
- Sayings of Christ (4th cent. date), 90.
- Search Collection of Queen's College, Oxford, The, ALICE GREENFELL, 217.
- Chief classes of scarabs dealt with:
- Apis signs scarabs, 225.
  - Hand scarabs, 222.
  - Horus and Set scarabs, 223.
  - Kheper scarabs, 222.
  - Minion(?) and other scripts(?) on scarabs, 219.
  - Ram's Head scarabs, 225.
  - Sportive scarabs, 223.
  - Tied lotus, Ka, Ankh scarabs, 221.
  - Volute scarabs, 220.
- Other classes examined cursorily:
- Deities on scarabs, 227.
  - Don scarabs, 225.
  - Nub-Dad-Ra scarabs, 225.
  - Private names on scarabs, 226.
  - Protected Nefers and Ankhs scarabs, 227.
  - Ra in his boat scarabs, 227.
  - Royal scarabs, 226.
  - Syrian Horse scarabs, 225.
  - Usut scarabs, 228.
- Science: Ancient Egypt, Bibliography, 1914-15, 246.
- SELIGMAN, C. G., *An undescribed type of building in the Eastern Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, 178.
- Sennsart, standard weight for 70 units of gold, 236.
- Sesostris I, excavations at Pyramid of, at Lisht, 236.
- Sesostris III's Syrian Campaign, an indirect reference to in the Tomb-chapel of Dhutwy-Htp at El-Bersheb, A. M. BLACKMAN, 13.
- Sheshonq, names and monuments of kings named, reviewed by GACTURAN, 239.
- Silver, hat, name of, in Hittite texts borrowed from Egyptians, 241.
- Sinai as known to the Egyptians, T. E. PEER, 241.
- Sinuhe, story of, literary, historical and geographical value, A. H. GARDINER, 244.
- Sinuthian texts, Apocalypse and Testament of Shenoute, LEIPOLDT, 29.
- Skulls of Dyn. XII from Harageh and Lahm, AMEDEN, 247.
- Sneferu-sent portrait-head from Giza, 186.
- SOMLY, G. P. G., *The Pronunciation of Coptic in the Church of Egypt*, 15.
- Solar boats at mastaba of Imhotep at Lisht, 236.
- Soldiers of Ancient Egypt*, The, H. M. TIRARD, 220.
- Square moidbs controversy, Vox Donschütz, 38.
- Standard weight of Sennsart for 70 units of gold, 236.
- Statue in limestone, Greek, from Atfih, 113.
- " of high priest at Cherehal, Is. Lévy, 113.
- Stela, figure of lion-god of Leontopolis with inscription in hieroglyphic and demotic, STRECH-SEN, 245.
- " Middle Kingdom, with chapter of "bringing the bark" (spell 270 in Sothe's *Pyr.*) at Moscow, 238.
- " of Tethmosis III at Budapest, MAHLER, 245.
- " of the artist Irtisen, study of, SOTTAS, 244.
- Stelae at Meres, two great, 234.
- Sayce's interpretation of, 235.
- Stelae from Abydos, with inscriptions, PEET AND LOAT, 34.
- " from monastery of St Jeremiah at Saqqarah, in Brit. Mus., 36.
- " Hieroglyphic text from Egyptian, in British Museum, 237.
- " Leyden, of New Kingdom, Booser, reviewed by MARIANO, 239.
- Stein of Israel:
- Spiegelberg's translation, 195.
  - F. L. Griffith's translation, 195.
  - Brasted's translation, 195.
  - Maspero's translation, 196.
- Stone Age in Egypt, PERAIN, 249.
- " Superintendent of the South," Shmuni nominated as, with names of 22 notams under his control, 237.
- Superintendents of food at Oxyrhynchus, 42.
- Synaxarium, Cairo, second half, PHILOTHEOS and MICHAEL MACARIUS, 27.
- " Ethiopia, Giddi, résumé of, NAC, 27.
- " Melchite version A.D. 1095, I. KRACHKOVSKY, 27.
- Syria, *Did Memphis invade?* ED. NAVILLE, 195.
- Syrian Papyrus Fragments from Oxyrhynchus, Notes on, D. S. MARGOLIOU, 214.
- Syrian Campaign of Sesostris III, reference to, in Tomb-chapel at El-Bersheb, 13.

T

- Tardhat in Coptic and Arabic for Holy Week, P. MACARIUS and M. GIBON, 28.
- Touza (El Hibe), new occurrence of the place-name, 240.
- Theadelphia, excavation of a temple of the crocodile-god Pnepheros at, 236.
- Thebes, tomb-robberies at, 173.
- The Nature and Development of the Egyptian Hieroglyphic Writing*, A. H. GARDINER, 61.
- Theotokia for liturgical use, CLAUDIUS Bey LABIB, 27.
- Thou, interpreted in the designation of Libya, NEWBERRY, 242.
- Thothmes III, scarab of, in New York Museum, commemorating erection of pair of obelisks in temple of Amon, Karnak, 188.
- Throne of a priest, DAREMY, 250.
- Thucydides, fragment of, discovered in Egypt in 1913, FA. FISCHER, 98.
- TIRARD, H. M., *The Soldiers of Ancient Egypt*, 220.
- Tou, M. N., *Bibliography, 1913-14: Inscriptions, Graeco-Roman Egypt*, 108.
- Tomb-chapel of Dhutwy-Htp at El-Bersheb, 13.
- Tomb-inscription, IVth Dyn., from Giza, MOREY, 237.

- Tomb-Robberies of the Ramesside Age. The great,*  
*Papyrus Mayer A*, 173.  
 " " *B*, 204.  
 " " T. E. Perr, 173, 204.  
 Judicial procedure in Egypt, 173.  
 Ramesses IX and X, trials concerning tomb-robberies in reigns of, 173.  
 Royal bodies removed from tombs to greater safety, 173.  
 Tomb-robberies due to weakening of central control, 173.  
 Tridacna shell from Nineveh showing Egyptian influence in its decoration, L. W. KING, 241.  
 Trundling of sieve by father after birth of child, customs in Western Oases, HARDING KISU, 246.  
 Tutaiell, Prof., History of the Ancient East (*Istorie des alten Ostens*), Vol. II, 239.  
 Two Brothers and Joseph, stories of, compared, WIENERMANN, 247.
- U**
- Undescribed Type of Building in the Eastern Provinces of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, AN, C. G. SKELDON, 178.  
 Monuments at Erkowitz, 178.  
 " oval masses with "fish-tail" expansions, 178.  
 " probably burial constructions, 182.
- Ushabti-cases in Hermitage Museum, TONALIFF*, 250.
- V**
- Violators of tombs, *Formules d'imprécation*, SOTTAS, 6.  
 Votive text from Kom Abu Afrita, 109.
- W**
- WAINWRIGHT, G. A., The Excavations at Balabish: preliminary notice, 202.  
 War service of Fund's Committee and Officers, 39, 40, 183.  
 WEISBACH, A. E. P. B., *An Ancient Egyptian Funeral Ceremony*, 10.  
 Wrights, Egyptian, J. A. DROCHTERMANCHE, 105.  
 Wersu, the superintendent of the gold-countries, 5.  
 Wersu and Sit-Re, statue-group, inscription on back, 5, 6.  
 W'3 in Demotic and Coptic, 242.  
 Wilkinson, [Sir] J. G., Letters to Sir William Gall, with facsimiles, 141-164.  
 Wilkinson, [Sir] J. G., find of letters from, in British Museum, 76.  
 Whalom xvii, translated from Sa'idic text, G. D. BUCKLE, 24.

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